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10 July 1984

## **Southeast Asia Report**

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10 July 1984

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## AUSTRALIA

Sydney Daily on Hayden Moscow Trip Postmortem (Peter Smark; THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 31 May 84) .....	1
Pro-uranium Report Strengthens Hawke's ALP Hand (Paul Eller camp; THE AUSTRALIAN, 1 Jun 84) .....	2
Federal Government Unveils National Auto Industry Plan (THE AUSTRALIAN, THE AGE, 30 May 84) .....	4
Protection To End, by David O'Reilly Japanese Firms Affected, by Mike Kable Union Split on Plan, by David Hirst Editorial Supports Move	

## INDONESIA

System of Protection for Domestic Industries To Be Developed (SINAR HARAPAN, 11 Apr 84) .....	8
Joint Training Exercise With Singapore Air Force Reported (HARIAN UMUM AB, 18 May 84) .....	10
Air Force Organizational Structure To Be Revised (KOMPAS, 11 Apr 84) .....	12
Strauss Praises CN-235 Aircraft (KOMPAS, 19 Apr 84) .....	13
Widjojo Comments on Rising Exchange Rate, Foreign Loans (KOMPAS, 21 Apr 84) .....	15
Government's Bias Against Some Mass Organizations Cited (SINAR HARAPAN, 25 Apr 84) .....	17

Alien Manpower To Be Reduced During PELITA IV (MERDEKA, 25 Apr 84) .....	19
East Nusatenggara Organizations Endorse Pancasila (KOMPAS, 11 Apr 84) .....	20
Bursah Sentenced to 18 Months (SINAR HARAPAN, 11 Apr 84) .....	21
Sudomo Explains Layoff, Termination of Workers (HARIAN UMUM AB, 12 Apr 84) .....	22
Reforestation by ABRI Termed Successful (HARIAN UMUM AB, 12 Apr 84) .....	24
Habibie on Technology Transfer (MERDEKA, 19 Apr 84) .....	25
No Bonuses for Government Employees This Year (MERDEKA, 18 May 84) .....	27
Food Procurement Up Last Year (KOMPAS, 19 Apr 84) .....	28
New Ocean Fishing Port Conducting Trial Operations (SUARA KARYA, 18 May 84) .....	30
Continuing Decline in East Java Sugar Production Told (MERDEKA, 18 May 84) .....	32
South Sumatra Leading Exporter of Nonoil Commodities (MERDEKA, 18 May 84) .....	34
Briefs	
Bavarian Minister Praises Habibie	36
New Air Base Commander	36

#### PHILIPPINES

Virata Defends Marcos, Government System, Economy (Cesar E. Virata Interview; MR.& MS., 1 Jun 84) .....	38
VERITAS Publishes Cardinal Sin Post Election Message (VERITAS, 3-9 Jun 84) .....	45
MR.& MS.Analyzes Boycott Effect, NAMFREL Performance (VERITAS, 1 Jun 84; MR. & MS., 1 Jun 84) .....	47
Boycott Gains Quantified, by Jose F. Lacaba	
NAMFREL Obstacles, Successes, Funding,	
by Corazon C. Fiel	



Government Corporations To Lose Subsidies (Jesselynn Gardia De La Cruz; VERITAS, 10-16 Jun 84) .....	56
Prime Rate Forecast To Rise 40 Percent (BULLETIN TODAY, 3 Jun 84) .....	58
Philippine Conference for Human Rights Reports Abuses (Gene Orejana; MR. & MS., 8 Jun 84) .....	60
23 May Opposition Unity Meeting Reported, Analyzed (Michael Purugganan; MR & MS., 1 Jun 84) .....	63
Bigornia on Kirkpatrick Statement, Supreme Court Appointment (Jesus Bigornia; BULLETIN TODAY, 2 Jun 84).....	66
Supreme Court Issues 'Liberal' Ruling on Campus Demonstrations (Apolonio Batalla; BULLETIN TODAY, 2 Jun 84) .....	68
NASUTRA Nonpayment Worries Sugar Industry Figures (Edgar Cadagat; VISAYAN HERALD, 4 Jun 84) .....	70
Cebu Editorial Supports Calls for Coalition Government (VISAYAN HERALD, 3 Jun 84).....	72
Columnist Supports Workers in Cebu Strike (Ernie Arenas; VISAYAN HERALD, 1 Jun 84) .....	73
Task Force Detainee Member on 'Salvaging' Operations (R. D. Paringaux; LE MONDE, 4 Jun 84) .....	74
Briefs	
Home Defense Force 'Vital'	78
NPA 'Tax Collectors' Killed	78
Election Results Protested	79

#### THAILAND

February 84 Poll on Parties, Politicians Published (Sirimana Sattamai; PATINYA, 28 May 84) .....	80
Opinion Poll on Economic Issues Analyzed (Sirimana Sattamai; PATINYA, 4 Jun 84) .....	85
Student Federation Funds Seized by Government (MATICHON, 29 May 84) .....	88
Editorial Urges Thais To Study Philippine 'Lesson' (PATINYA, 4 Jun 84) .....	90

## VIETNAM

### PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

Impact of Party Activities at HCMC Harbor Described (Le Thanh Minh; NHAN DAN, 20 Apr 84) .....	92
---	----

### ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE AND FINANCE

Editorial Calls for Improved Material Supply to Production Sector (LAO DONG, 10 May 84) .....	97
--	----

### AGRICULTURE

NHAN DAN Reports on Nghia Binh Winter-Spring Rice Crop (NHAN DAN, 20 Apr 84) .....	99
---	----

Drought, Insect Control in North, Rice Cultivation in South (NHAN DAN, 21 May 84) .....	101
--	-----

Briefs Winter-Spring Rice Crop	102
-----------------------------------	-----

### HEAVY INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION

Briefs Coal Screening Plant	103
--------------------------------	-----

### HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Level-1 General Education Program Formulated for Highlands (Le Ba Vinh; NGHIEN CUU GIAO DUC, No 143, Apr 84) .....	104
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SYDNEY DAILY ON HAYDEN MOSCOW TRIP POSTMORTEM

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 31 May 84 p 3

[Commentary by Peter Smark]

[Text]

MOSCOW, Wednesday: So was Bill Hayden's long journey really necessary? When more than eight hours of testing talks with Mr Andrei Gromyko ended yesterday, Mr Hayden was well pleased with himself.

The tone of the discussions had been cordial and, while the wily 75-year-old Mr Gromyko had given not an inch on nuclear arms reduction talks, and turned armadillo on human rights issues, he had echoed Mr Hayden on the benefits of differing countries talking round a table rather than shouting with megaphones from afar.

Mr Gromyko had applauded Australia's dialogue with Vietnam and blessed with a notification of understanding Australia's efforts to get movement over Kampuchea.

Mr Hayden told reporters at the end of the talks that he had come "to register our concern" on a number of issues.

"Ours is not a country of a size to determine events but, if enough countries of similar size register their concern, we can have an influence."

Some Australian politicians and diplomats regards the Hayden visit as something of an exercise in futility, but that is not the impression here on the ground.

It would be foolish to exaggerate the significance of Australia in Russian eyes or to look at the rough handling Mr Gromyko has handed out to West Germany's Foreign Minister, Mr Genscher, or Italy's Prime Minister, Mr Craxi, in recent weeks as indicating that Mr Hayden's wiles are necessarily greater than

theirs. Australia, a non-deploying country though a firm US ally, could have expected to fare a little better.

At least until the US Presidential election is over, the Soviet Union obviously intends to impose permanent frost on its relations with NATO, but the atmospherics, the number of Gromyko pleasantries, his molar count as he smiled - these are unreliable indicators of how much better Mr Hayden and Australia have done than might have been expected. But they are all we have.

In comparison with the Russian obsessions - Germany, US arms, America's perceived lack of willingness to treat Russia as an equal, pressures of Soviet borders - these factors weigh slight, but enough to make it worthwhile for Mr Gromyko to play the affable uncle of the world, rather than the Boston Strangler role he can play as readily.

Mr Hayden was assured and brisk, obviously on top of detailed as well as general issues in the talks.

The powerful and dauntingly experienced Mr Gromyko, marking his report card as he must feel inclined to do with each new foreign minister he meets, would surely have given him an "A" for application.

Against the trip's successes, one puts into the scale absence from Canberra, lack of real movement in the Russian position (never realistically expected), and cost.

Under the last heading, Australian trade with Russia has fallen from \$900 million to \$500 million in the past five years. Even a faint improvement if Russia decides to stroke us a little would soon eliminate that.

PRO-URANIUM REPORT STRENGTHENS HAWKE'S ALP HAND

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 1 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Political Correspondent Paul Ellercamp]

[Text]

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, appeared yesterday to support the long-term development of Australia's uranium industry, following the release of an expert report which went well past the Government's existing policy in advocating uranium mining and development.

However, Mr Hawke rejected suggestions in the report that Australia become involved in uranium enrichment.

The report, by the Australian Science and Technology Council (ASTEC), lent strong backing to Mr Hawke's argument that Australia must become involved in the world nuclear fuel cycle if it is to influence the cycle away from the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

It says Australia must also become involved if it is to strengthen the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, which it describes as having been weakened by the superpowers and by states supplying nuclear technology.

The report gives strong backing to supporters of uranium mining within the ALP, and thus undermines the Left's opposition.

An anti-uranium activist within the ALP Caucus, Senator Ruth Coleman (WA), said last night that many ALP supporters outside the party would be angry that the report would be used to water down the party's anti-uranium policy.

As well as recommending further development to advanced stages of the fuel cycle, the report also found that:

**THERE** was no direct link between the technology used in nuclear power generation and the production of nuclear weapons.

**AUSTRALIAN** uranium was guaranteed a market overseas.

**AUSTRALIA'S** position as a stable and reliable uranium supplier placed it in a good position to influence the fuel cycle away from weapons proliferation.

**AUSTRALIAN** participation in the energy cycle would contribute to world energy security, and thus world peace.

**SAFEGUARDS** should be tightened in several areas.

Mr Hawke told Parliament yesterday that the report also rejected two of the key arguments put forward against Australia's involvement in the nuclear fuel cycle.

These were that the solution to the world's nuclear proliferation problems was for the world to forego the use of nuclear energy; and that by supplying uranium to nuclear weapons states, Australia might be freeing-up uranium for use in weapons.

On the first argument, Mr Hawke said that the report "rejects this suggestion, observing that the use of nuclear energy is an established fact of life and that Australia's withdrawal would

not affect the decisions that countries have made and will make to use nuclear energy".

On the second argument, which the report also rejected, Mr Hawke said that nuclear weapons States already had adequate supplies of uranium and were not assisted at all by supplies from Australia.

"Put more bluntly, the report concludes that denial of supply to nuclear weapons States would not affect in any way their weapons programs," Mr Hawke said. "The report concludes that there are more practical measures that Australia can take to assist the cause of non-proliferation than by withholding the supply of uranium."

"Principally, these go to the strengthening of the existing non-proliferation regime: proposals made by the report in this regard will be addressed by the Government in the near future."

Asked later whether the report would help his cause at the ALP's national conference next month, Mr Hawke replied: "The report sustains the analysis and argument that I and others have put, and it does it with an authority in some respects that I am not able to bring to bear on it."

"And I would feel sure that those of our colleagues who will be delegates to the conference, who to this point may not have come to some final conclusion, will read this report with an open mind and will be persuaded of the virtue

of the conclusions that are contained in the report."

Mr Hawke refused to indicate after tabling the report how far he believed the uranium industry should be developed.

## Rejection

But while he appeared to go beyond the Government's existing development policy — which restricts mining and export to existing uranium mines and the large Roxby Downs deposit in South Australia — he rejected the report's call for Australia to become involved in advanced stages of the nuclear fuel cycle, such as enrichment.

The report, headed by AS-TEC's chairman, Professor Ralph Slatyer, suggested that Australia and Japan could become the centres for Asia and the Pacific in advanced steps in the nuclear fuel cycle.

It advocated Australia's continued and expanded participation in the nuclear fuel cycle in such strong terms that Mr Hawke and the ALP right wing could not have written a better endorsement of their policies.

The report was commissioned by the Government last November in the wake of its decision to approve new uranium exports from existing mines and the go-ahead for the Roxby Downs deposit.

ASTEC was asked to report on:

**THE** adequacy of Australia's nuclear safeguards arrangements.

**THE** opportunities for Australia, through its involve-

ment in the nuclear fuel cycle, to advance the cause of non-proliferation.

**THE** adequacy of existing waste disposal methods.

Mr Hawke described the report as comprehensive and thoroughly professional.

While the report gave succor to Mr Hawke's supporters on the Right and to supporters of a draft new uranium policy circulated by the Minister for Resources and Energy, Senator Walsh, a key figure in the Centre Left faction, it will not please the left wing.

The Slatyer inquiry appears to have started from the position that Australia's continued participation in the nuclear fuel cycle after Roxby Downs was a foregone conclusion.

Mr Hawke would not say yesterday whether he favored further development of the industry past last year's decision. But he acknowledged the Walsh draft as probably the most liberal proposition which would go before the conference.

Mr Hawke refused yesterday to state his preferred policy position, saying: "I've asked my colleagues to contain their debate within the party. I think I'll do the same thing."

The Prime Minister used the expression "long term" to describe the recommended involvement of Australia in the world nuclear fuel cycle.

He said: "The inquiry has concluded that Australia, through being a reliable, long-term supplier of uranium, is in a position to contribute sig-

nificantly to international energy security.

"Further, the report brings out that the assurance of reliable, long-term supplies of uranium at reasonable prices will also reduce the motivation for individual countries to seek greater energy security by carrying out more steps in the fuel cycle, particularly reprocessing, within national boundaries.

"Against this background, the report concludes that Australia will best be able to make a significant contribution to non-proliferation and world peace if it is actively involved in the nuclear fuel cycle."

In a statement, Professor Slatyer said that ASTEC "approached our task very conscious that Australia should play a role in the nuclear fuel cycle which most strengthens the cause of non-proliferation and world peace."

The report is so strongly pro-uranium development that it leaves substantial room for Mr Hawke and the Right to demonstrate moderation by rejecting some of its more controversial recommendations.

Professor Slatyer is an environmental biologist at the Australian National University. He was formerly Australia's ambassador to UNESCO and, coincidentally, was a contemporary of Mr Hawke in his youth at Perth Modern School and the University of Western Australia.

# FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNVEILS NATIONAL AUTO INDUSTRY PLAN

## Protection To End

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 May 84 p 1

[Article by David O'Reilly]

[Text]

THE Federal Government is gradually to phase down protection for the car industry and pay retrenched workers a weekly \$46.35 retraining allowance under the long-awaited national car plan, unveiled yesterday.

Changes to local content rules and the injection of \$150 million into motor design research are contained in the plan, announced in the Senate by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Senator Button.

The phasing out of quotas on imported cars will virtually end protection for the domestic industry by the early 1990s.

The plan is now the Government's tool to reduce the number of car companies in Australia from six to three, and to cut the number of basic models made here from 13 to six by 1992.

According to Senator Button, the Government will not tolerate active opposition to its plan. He warned he would accelerate the cuts in penalty rates, or deny access to imports, to ensure the plan goes through.

Senator Button made no attempt yesterday to conceal Government concern over the parlous state of the industry. In a lengthy statement to Parliament, he described the

industry as being characterised by "short-term crisis management, lack of direction and inward looking policies".

There were no text-book solutions to the crisis, he said.

Under the previous government the penalty tariff on cars imported outside quota was to be reduced from 150 per cent in 1985 to 125 per cent by 1992. Senator Button said this would now be phased down from 100 per cent to 57.5 per cent.

"This will mean that by 1992 a car entering the country outside quota will do so at the same tariff rate as one within quota, and quota restrictions will cease to have any effect," he said.

Senator Button conceded that "further labor reductions by some manufacturers" were likely to occur.

"They have been planned for some time and are part of the crisis the industry has been experiencing."

The Government would seek to minimise hardship by making retrenched employees eligible for a \$46.35 weekly retraining allowance while they sought other work. This would be paid over and above unemployment benefits.

Other key elements of the plan, to take effect from January 1 1985, include:

AN automotive industry authority to be an "honest



broker", ensuring the car companies adhere to the plan's provisions.

**PROVIDING** \$150 million over five years to help the companies develop internationally competitive components.

**A JOINT** venture between the Federal and South Australian Governments to develop tooling parts.

**KEEPING** the export credit system under which car companies use credits to import cars or components duty free.

Senator Button said in the short term quota arrangements would continue, but some four-wheel drive vehicles used as passenger cars would be reclassified.

From today, arrangements for some types of imported four-wheel drive and light commercial vehicles will be changed to close loopholes which would otherwise undermine the intent of the plan.

Some vehicles now regarded as light commercial vehicles will be reclassified, lifting the tariffs which apply to these vehicles and bringing them into the import quota arrangements for the industry.

They include variants of motor cars or station wagons, such as single seat small hatchback type vehicles, where the tariff will rise from 45 per cent to 57.5 per cent.

The tariff on four-wheel drive sedan or station wagon type vehicles with an independent chassis will rise from 25 per cent to 37.5 per cent. This classification includes vehicles such as the Subaru 4 x 4 station wagon, the Audi Quattro sedan, the Toyota

Tercel and the Lada Niva.

Normal agricultural four-wheel drive vehicles and legitimate commercial vehicles will not be affected.

Senator Button said the Government aimed to encourage efficiency by gradually deregulating the car quota system.

The Government believes the market share of an importer by 1990 should be a result of that importer's competitiveness in the local market," Senator Button said.

"It should not be determined in large part by their performances in 1974 - nearly 15 years before - when quotas were first imposed.

Accordingly, the Government will phase in a system in which all quotas are put to tender. It is possible for a tender to be disruptive either because it is brought in too quickly or because a particular importer seeks to corner all, or most, of the available quota.

The Government will not tolerate predatory behavior and has sought and obtained assurances from the major importers. The phasing in of the tender quota will be over four years."

Senator Button said he hoped the restructure would see cheaper car prices flowing through to the Australian consumer by 1988.

GM-H and Toyota had embarked on joint ventures in the US and there was no reason why that process could not continue in Australia.

Conceding the plan could see the loss of several thousand jobs, he said the extent of retrenchments depended

on the industry "lifting its game".

Senator Button signalled the Government's desire that the new car authority take a tough line with makers. It would closely monitor international pricing practices to ensure no unfair activities disadvantaged the local consumer.

Beginning in 1985, the authority would require a full cost breakdown of individual components imported into Australia.

"The plan will also be amended to empower the minister, on the advice of the authority, to seek justification of component prices where there are reasons to make such a request," he said.

In any major corporate restructuring of the overseas companies in Australia, the Government would also require adequate opportunity for Australian equity and control.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Peacock, said the plan was doomed to fail as long as the Government maintained full wage indexation.

The Hawke Government had merely retained key elements of the previous government's car plan.

"But the Government's policies on the economy and wages and some of the changes in the car industry policy only undermine the chance for the industry to become more export orientated and world competitive," he said.

## Japanese Firms Affected

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 May 84 p 1

[Commentary by Mike Kable: "Slamming the Brakes on Japanese Firms"]

[Text]

THE Federal Government has certainly socked it to Australia's five manufacturers in its bold new car industry plan.

The Government, in effect, has told them that if they choose to continue building cars here, they must do it on the Government's terms. Not

only will they be restricted as to the cars they can make, but they must operate in partnership with rival companies.

If Toyota, Nissan and Mitsubishi cannot profitably produce two cars each, as they are doing at present, then they can hardly expect to make money with a single car

line, supplemented by imported models.

The Government's real intentions are disclosed in its general statement on the industry:

"By the early 1990s, the Government expects to see no more than three manufacturing groups operating in this country."

So the Government has set the stage for a clearing-out process which must favor the manufacturers with the broadest base and most resources here.

These have to be Ford and GM-H, whose roots are deep in Australia; and Mitsubishi, which has acquired the facilities of Chrysler Australia.

But this does not necessarily mean that Toyota — the world's third biggest manufacturer after General Motors and Ford — and Nissan will buckle under.

Toyota is a giant company with vast international re-

sources. It was aspiring eventually to displace Ford here in the overall car and commercial vehicle market. Indeed, it toppled GM-H this year from the number two spot by virtue of its range of locally manufactured and imported cars, commercials and four-wheel drive vehicles.

Nissan is an aggressive marketer and, like Toyota, does not object to partnerships with others providing there's a suitable financial spin-off.

Whatever happens, the industry is headed for a massive shake-up, in which only the fittest can survive.

How will the public, for so long accustomed to a wide range of cars, react to the cut-back in local models? My guess is they'll accept it, provided spiralling prices can be stabilised.

As far as imported cars are concerned, buyers will have an even bigger choice than at present. The complex

changes in import arrangements are designed to give us a more open market — and hopefully, access to much-needed economy models that are not available at present.

In establishing the tender system, the Government must have taken a lead from some importers who have paid up to \$12,000 each for import licences and passed the added costs on to consumers.

On the four-wheel drive front, it's bad news for Toyota and Subaru, some of whose vehicles will be hit by quota restrictions and a tariff hike to 57.5 per cent.

The \$150 million hand-out allocated for local design and research can only be described as unbelievable — a gift for manufacturers who will be wondering how on earth to spend the money now that the top automotive technology invariably comes from their parent companies.

## Union Split on Plan

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 30 May 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by David Hirst]

[Text]

A RIFT emerged last night in the leadership of the Vehicle Builders Employees Federation over the Government's scheme for the industry.

While the union's federal secretary Mr Len Townsend, congratulated the Government, the NSW secretary, Mr Joe Thompson, slammed the proposals as a "recipe for disaster".

Mr Townsend described the plan as a commonsense policy which would benefit all, including consumers.

Mr Thompson attacked his colleague claiming he was "too close to GM-H" and said between 3000 and 4000 more jobs in the "in-house area of vehicle manufacturing were about to go".

He said the scheme represented a definite shift of the industry from NSW to Victoria.

"Ford intends to build a \$50 million aluminium transmission casting plant in Geelong, which would greatly duplicate existing casting plants in NSW and lead to their eventual closure," Mr Thompson said.

He claimed the scheme would cost at least 15,000 jobs directly and many others indirectly, virtually extinguishing the Australian component parts industry. It would take the industry back to the 1930s when Australia assembled cars from imported parts.

However Mr Townsend said he accepted that the Government would face the usual criticism which was part and parcel of Australian politics.

He said even those elements should recognise that the industry would accept the rules.

Mr Thompson said that he interpreted these comments as a "veiled threat on the

trade union movement as a whole".

"It is an attack on the whole trade union movement as the ACTU has specifically stated that export credits should not rise above 7½ per cent and they will rise to 15 per cent."

"Mr Townsend doesn't even comment on that but it will devastate the industry."

Already Mr Townsend's comments have been condemned by a combined meeting of the representatives of 1000 workers of the Borg Warner transmission plant in Albury," he said.

Mr Townsend said he would like to see an export credit level less than 15 per cent but considered the inclusion of a value-added factor as a major improvement over the old scheme.

He was concerned over the loss of industry employment and hoped that if it was 15



or it would be by normal attrition, or voluntary early retirement schemes.

"The wild estimates of job losses resulting from the new plans can be balanced by the fact that if the industry was to continue its slide it would lose all employment."

Mr Thompson said the plan "sounds the death knell for almost the whole of the component part industry."

"It destroys the concept of having an Australian motor industry but it's a major victory for GM-H."

Mr Thompson said provisions within the plan to

retrain vehicle industry workers were cosmetic.

"The retraining is little more than a hoax because they don't say what they're retraining them for, and a lot of workers who lost their jobs at Pagewood three years ago are still not employed."

### Editorial Supports Move

Melbourne THE AGE in English 30 May 84 p 13

[Editorial: "An Overhaul for the Car Industry"]

[Text]

**B**ACK in 1981 the Fraser Government announced a plan to restructure the motor manufacturing industry. Stripped of its rhetoric, it was a timid document which, while it talked about the high cost of protection to the community, did little to reduce that burden. The new restructuring plan announced by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Senator Button, yesterday is much more courageous. What it says in essence is that while Australia should continue to have a motor manufacturing industry of its own, it must be on very different terms. It must, for a start, be capable of standing more firmly on its own feet. It cannot expect to shelter indefinitely behind a high tariff wall, enjoying ever-higher subsidies while employing fewer and fewer workers.

Under the Button plan the industry has eight years to put its house in order. Over that period protection will be systematically reduced, the number of models will be cut from 13 to six or less, the number of manufacturers will be expected to drop from five to no more than three, while the door will be opened progressively to imports. The pressure will be on the local car makers to integrate their activities, to contain costs and to become more efficient. The Government for its part will offer incentives for greater efficiency. It will also contribute \$150 million over five years for Australian design and research.

As Senator Button said, the eight-year plan — itself the product of wide-ranging consultations — provides a framework within which the car industry can develop with a sense of purpose. Individual proposals may be controversial; but there can be little argument with the Government's general view that the industry as it stands is fragmented, chronically unstable and inefficient, and that a major overhaul was called for. The decision to reduce the number of models from 13 to six or less therefore makes good economic sense.

The industry's problems have been, in large part, the result of too many models chasing too few buyers. Encouraging the car makers to integrate their activities makes good sense too. Five manufacturers in a country the size of Australia is a luxury that we can ill afford.

More controversial is the proposal to open the door progressively to imports over the eight-year period. This is a compromise solution, but a prudent one, given the political and regional sensitivities of the motor car industry. The fact is that Australians now pay substantially more for their cars than do most other consumers. The cost to the consumer is the equivalent of a consumption tax of \$1000 million a year. The Government has decided — rightly in our view — that this is an excessive burden, and that it is time that burden was lightened. At the same time the Government has not gone to the opposite extreme of either slashing the import tariff or bumping up the quota. Such a policy would have caused widespread disruption and turmoil. Better to lower the import barrier progressively, and hope that the corrective measures taken by the industry in the meantime will have made the local product more cost-competitive with the imported model.

It is too early to predict what impact the Government's plan will have on the car industry's workforce. Initially, as Senator Button concedes, the result will be further labor shedding. How much depends partly on the degree to which the industry can improve its competitiveness, and therefore its market prospects. In the longer term the plan should help to stabilise employment in the industry, with retraining assistance being given to those who find themselves retrenched. All in all, it is a bold attempt to come to grips with an industry which urgently needs restructuring. We would hope that it meets with a positive response from all those involved in it. If they don't co-operate this time, the next Government might feel tempted to intervene more firmly, and more disruptively.

SYSTEM OF PROTECTION FOR DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES TO BE DEVELOPED

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 11 Apr 84 p 11

[Excerpts] Eng Hartarto, minister of industry, said that a natural system for protecting domestic industries would be developed in order to lower the dependency on foreign countries.

The minister made this proposal at the opening of the Consultation/Briefing Meeting on Import Levies and Marketing held on Monday [9 April] in the Department of Industry building.

The consultation meeting was attended by the heads of the regional office/customs inspectorate, who had just taken part in a working meeting of the directorate general of customs. Heads of the regional trade offices also attended.

The minister said that the natural form of protection through limiting imports must not put too big a burden on development.

The minister explained that industrial development is supported by the nation's determination to have the government and society at large use domestic products. He said that applying these policies involved two inseparable elements--regulating import marketing and imposing levies on imports. By regulating the import market, a dependable domestic market will be created and an overly segmented market will be avoided.

On the one hand, import levies will be implemented by imposing import taxes (duties), with the amount to be calculated to protect domestic production in a natural way. In this way, domestic producers will be protected from unnatural and unhealthy domestic competition from foreign goods. On the other hand, the minister said in his written statement of welcome, which was read by Dr B. Suhartono, head of the Department of Industry's Research and Development Board, the consumers or users will be protected from the possibility of excessively high prices for domestic products.

The minister said that the size of the import levies will be determined not only by the amount of the duty and the import PPn [Sales Tax] but also by the import check price.

Unnatural and unhealthy competition from imported goods can arise from unnaturally low prices due, for example, to dumping or a low spot price due to recession and underinvoicing.

The minister said that it would be useful if problems connected with determining and applying import check prices were also investigated.

The minister hopes, as part of an effort to economize on foreign exchange, that unnecessary goods can be prevented from entering the country through these policies on import levies and on marketing and that the development of domestic industries can be protected from unnatural foreign competition.

9846

CSO:4213/214

JOINT TRAINING EXERCISE WITH SINGAPORE AIR FORCE REPORTED

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 18 May 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Marshal Sukardi, the chief of staff of the Indonesian Air Force, opened "Elang Indopura III," a joint training exercise of the Indonesian Air Force and Singapore Air Force, on Wednesday, 17 May 1984, at Pekanbaru Air Base in Riau.

The objective of the joint training exercise is to maintain and upgrade the combat capability of the two air forces, particularly in carrying out joint air operations to maintain security in the border area between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Singapore.

The exercise will last 3 days, ending on 19 May 1984. It is being conducted to test and evaluate the tactics, techniques, procedures and system being used by Operation Control Command in carrying out combined standing operating procedures that have been jointly agreed on and that were also used during the "Elang Indopura I" exercise at Iswahyudi Main Air Force Base in Madiun and the "Elang Indopura II" exercise at Singapore.

The exercise also is intended to reinforce the cooperative and friendly relations that have long existed between the two services.

The Indonesian Air Force will use two types of tactical combat aircraft during the joint training exercise, namely, the A-4 Skyhawk from Squadron 12, Operational Wing 300 and the OV-10 Bronco from Squadron 3, Operational Wing 002. Puma and Sikorsky Twinpack helicopters, C-130s and F-27s will be used in support.

The Singapore Air Force also will use A-4 Skyhawks, together with helicopters and Hercules C-130 and Skyvan transports.

During the ceremony opening the joint training exercise at Pekanbaru Air Base, Marshal Sukardi said that Indonesia and Singapore, as friends, neighbors and members of ASEAN, have a history of cooperative relations in the social, economic and cultural sectors of national life and also in the defense and security sector.

Their cooperation in the defense and security sector is manifested in the joint training exercises, exercises that are carried out to obtain increased experience and upgrade professional capabilities so as to strengthen the national resilience of both countries and create regional resilience in South-east Asia, he said.

Marshal Sukardi also said that in the joint training exercise emphasis will be placed on tactical air operations, beginning with the preparatory phase and proceeding through the counterattack, destruction and consolidation phases. Air assault, air transport and combat search and rescue operations also will be carried out. The training is expected to reinforce the procedures followed in joint air operations, procedures that were also used in the last two joint training exercises.

Marshal Sukardi added that the joint training of the Indonesian Air Force and Singapore Air Force has been upgraded from year to year and that it is expected that this will contribute to the achievement of their common objective of increasing the two services' tactical and technical knowledge of joint air operations.

The ceremony opening the "Elang Indopura III" joint training exercise at Pekanbaru Air Base in Riau was attended by Colonel Gary Yeo Ping Yong, PPA, the deputy commander of the Singapore Air Force, and high officials of the Riau government. The colonel arrived in Indonesia on 16 May as a guest of the Indonesian Air Force.

The opening ceremony was followed by the establishment of Command Post III and field maneuvers. The Simpang Panam area on the Cermin coast 16 km west of Pekanbaru Air Base will be used as a target area for strafing attacks in the field maneuvers. First Marshal Sugiantoro of the Indonesian Air Force is the director of the training exercise and Lieutenant Colonel Derrick Martin of the Singapore Air Force is his deputy.

5458

CSO: 4213/229

## AIR FORCE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE TO BE REVISED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 11 Apr 84 p 12

[Text] The organizational structure of the TNI-AU [Indonesian Air Force] will be revised shortly because it is felt that the existing general staff organization is too big and its training and operations take too long. Marshal Sukardi, KSAU [Air Force Chief of Staff], made this statement at the commemoration of the 38th anniversary of the founding of the Air Force of the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces (TRI-AU) held in Jakarta on Monday [9 April].

It is now thought, he said, that the general staff organization used since the mid-1960s is unable to support a TNI-AU heavy on materiel and technology. "Learning from experience, the TNI-AU has decided to reorganize in order to face future challenges with a relatively small but dependable force," he said.

Marshal Sukardi emphasized that all members of the TNI-AU should accept these changes honestly and straightforwardly because their purpose is to achieve better conditions, consistent with TNI-AU's tasks and functions. He added that this reorganization would develop an ABRI [Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces] with a high fighting spirit and strong professional capabilities.

He warned that the TNI-AU faces the challenge of rapidly-advancing technological developments, including air weapons systems. To respond to that challenge it is no longer sufficient to depend on past experience or on TNI-AU's present capabilities. "TNI-AU must be able to grasp and control this technology, continuing to learn and to improve its educational system," said Sukardi.

To this end, TNI-AU is now putting the "Ganesa" project into effect, both to train noncommissioned officers in technical and electronic fields, and to improve the curriculum at the AU Academy.

#### Directorate Type?

The chief of staff has not yet described the changes to take place in the TNI-AU organization. However, he pointed to the history of the TNI-AU since 9 April 1946, when its organizational structure was still simple. After that, the TNI-AU went through several organizational changes. From the 1950s to the mid-1960s it used a directorate type of organization, which Marshal Sukardi said was an effective and efficient type of management.

Without saying whether the TNI-AU would return to a directorate, he explained that this type of management was abandoned in the mid-1960s in the interests of ABRI integration. It was replaced by the general staff organization now slated for change.



# STRAUSS PRAISES CN-235 AIRCRAFT

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 19 Apr 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Jakarta KOMPAS--The CN-235 plane made by Casa [Spain] and Nurtanio has good prospects in the international market. Thus there should be no hesitation concerning the plane's production.

Franz Josef Strauss, the prime minister of Bavaria, West Germany, who is also the chairman of MBB's (Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm GmbH) aircraft factory supervisory board, told this to reporters Wednesday at the Merdeka Palace after a meeting with President Soeharto.

Asked about the CN-235 transportation plane's prospects, Strauss, who was a minister of defense for West Germany, praised it and PT Nurtanio just after visiting both in Bandung. He stated that the technology being developed in Indonesia is quite fascinating, that it is undeniable that Indonesia will become a recognized airplane producer. Presently, Indonesia is already the second largest airplane exporting country in Asia following Japan.

## Packing Container

Minister of State for Research and Technology Prof Dr B.J. Habibie, who was accompanying Strauss, said that one of the CN-235's specialties is that it can be used to carry goods in a packing container. "If goods in a container carried by a big airplane such as a Boeing need to be delivered to a small area, it can be placed in a CN-235 plane without unpacking it," he said.

Habibie said there are four other kinds of planes in the world with sizes similar to CN-235. However, they cannot be used to carry a container, and yet this specialty is highly needed now. "So it is predicted that many countries will order the Casa 235," he said.

"If the other four planes are produced with the same functions, that is, to be able to carry passengers and be converted to carry cargo, they will need at least 3 years. In the meantime, the CN-235 will have already gained customers. With large-scale production the price will go down and it will be possible to be competitive," he added.

Franz Josef Strauss, who is also the head of the Democratic Christian Party in West Germany, stated further that considering Indonesia's capability in

technology, not to mention the supportive climate, the future for Indonesia will be very good.

"That is why I am very pleased to be able to continually increase the cooperation between [our] two countries," he said.

12657

CSO: 4213/216



WIDJOJO COMMENTS ON RISING EXCHANGE RATE, FOREIGN LOANS

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 21 Apr 84 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Prof Widjojo Nitisaastro Says Dollar Exchange Rate Need Not Cause Concern"]

[Excerpts] Jakarta, KOMPAS--Indonesians need not be concerned even though the exchange rate for the U.S. dollar has strengthened recently, rising to 1,000 rupiahs to the dollar. This reflects the strength of the U.S. dollar, and higher rates of exchange have appeared in several countries.

Prof Dr Widjojo Nitisaastro, advisor to the Indonesian government, reminded his listeners of this in his lecture before first and second echelon officials of the Department of Cooperatives, BULOG [Logistics Agency] employees, and a number of cooperatives organizers and managers given in the BULOG building on Gatot Subroto Street, last Saturday [14 April].

The higher exchange rate, Widjojo said, need not cause concern because it reflects the soundness of the U.S. dollar. This rise has also occurred in other countries and does not mean that the rupiah has weakened in value. "It is better that the exchange rate rises in phases as is happening at present than to have it surge in the future. Indonesians are accustomed to a floating exchange rate," Widjojo said.

Must Be Careful

Widjojo, who is also the chairman of KADIN's (Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) Advisory and Development Board, in addition reminded his listeners that many foreign loans had been offered to the Indonesian government recently.

He pointed out that in the period of actively implemented development now underway in Indonesia, the government needs a great deal of money. Other than funds accumulated from government receipts, loans from overseas are also needed. Foreign loans or third-nation loans are divided into three types: very soft-term loans, semi-soft-term loans or export credits, and commercial loans.

Careful and mature planning is needed for foreign commercial loans, Widjojo said. These loans demand high interest. Therefore, precise calculations are

needed for such borrowing so that neither too much nor too little will be requested. "Recently, international banking concerns offered a great deal of credit to Indonesia. However, Indonesia, especially as a developing country, has to be careful, but not suspicious, because if Indonesia does not take care, the economic situation will be derailed," Widjojo said.

In 1984, Indonesia planned to borrow \$500 million in commercial loans from the international banking world. Several banks were able to organize the planned loan.

Several weeks later, international bankers offered a \$600 million loan. Moreover, not long after that the amount offered to the Indonesian government was increased to \$800 million. "International bankers invited the Indonesian government to borrow all this money but only \$750 million was accepted, which was all we needed," Widjojo remarked.

Widjojo said the rejection of the \$50 million balance, in addition to proving overseas confidence in Indonesia, also showed that Indonesia was succeeding with its continuing development in the economic field even though other countries have been stricken with economic recessions.

In this unsettled world economic situation, particularly the economic crises occurring in developing nations, the international banking world has been limiting its loans. This has resulted in a number of liquidity problems and reduced money circulation which ultimately restricts international trade.

"This causes the international bankers to try hard to offer loans. Indonesia is evaluated as suitable for loans in this situation. But, on the other hand, we must also be careful," Widjojo said.

6804  
CSO: 4213/217

# GOVERNMENT'S BIAS AGAINST SOME MASS ORGANIZATIONS CITED

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 25 Apr 84 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Concerning the 'Bias' Against Mass Organizations"]

[Text] Jakarta, 25 April--Members of Ansor [Nadhlatul Ulema (Muslim Scholars Party) youth organization] who participated in the "Orientation on Raising Consciousness of Nationality and Statehood Week" held in Cibubur threw light on the problem of "bias" of some government officials in offering aid and services to mass organizations.

In a question and answer forum held on Wednesday morning [25 April] with Drs Toyiman, DIRGEN PUOD [autonomous regions and general administration director general] of the DEPDAGRI [Home Affairs Department], participants from Maluku, for instance, complained about obstacles encountered by the "non-AMPI" youth organizations. Representatives from Maluku said AMPI (Indonesian Modernization Youth Force) [the Pancasila youth organization] members obtained facilities or aid more readily from regional government officials. "Is this the current policy handed down from above?" the participants asked.

The DIRGEN PUOD did not respond directly except to say that the provision of services could not be separated from the way an approach for such services was made. "Please ask Pak Chalid Mawardi whether I did not assist him when he came to see me when I was employed in the Sociopolitical Directorate General," the DIRGEN said, glancing toward Chalid Mawardi, the general chairman of the Ansor Youth Movement.

## Do Not Be Influenced

In another part of the forum the DIRGEN reminded the participants that they should demonstrate that they really wanted to help the government. In addition, they should not be readily influenced by external "interests."

Now, the DIRGEN PUOD said, something dangerous has crept into Indonesia, namely, the Iranian revolutionary "commodity." Indonesia resembles a lovely young woman who, when brought out on the stage, always radiates charm. "All who have relations with Indonesia question whether this country can be penetrated or influenced," he said.

In addition to the question of "bias," the sole principle also continues to receive great attention. The DIRGEN said, as a continuation of the results achieved during the 1983 general session of Parliament, the government is now preparing various bills including bills on the general election, referenda, and the establishment of mass organizations.

The orientation week was opened on Tuesday evening by Dr Abdul Gafur, minister of state for youth and sports, and will continue until 28 April.

6804

CSO: 4213/217

# ALIEN MANPOWER TO BE REDUCED DURING PELITA IV

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 25 Apr 84 p 10

[Article: "Number of Alien Workers Targeted at Only 4,000 by the End of PELITA IV"]

[Text] Jakarta, Tuesday [24 April]--The target of the Directorate General for the Development and Placement of Manpower (DIRGEN BINAPENTA) of the Manpower Department (DEPNAKER) is an estimated drop in the employment of aliens (TKA) to 4,000 by the end of PELITA IV [Fourth 5-Year Economic Development Plan]. Currently the government, through the Manpower Department, limits the number of alien workers to some 16,180 persons.

Engr Drs Danang D. Judonegoro, BINAPENTA director general, DEPNAKER, gave this information to participants in the Manpower Department working meeting held in Jakarta on Tuesday afternoon.

Therefore, he said, the DEPNAKER staff, both those in regional offices (KANWIL) as well as those in the Manpower Department office (KANDEP), must use the work manual, especially Manpower Minister's Decision No Kep-64/Men/1984 concerning the manpower program and work permits for visiting alien (WNA) workers.

The director general also explained that the implementation of the program for the use of alien workers will continue to be upgraded with the reorganization and revision by sectors and subsectors of the implementation regulation contained in Presidential Decree (KEPPRES) No 23 of 1974. Also both the number and quality of the education and training programs financed through the Education and Training Obligatory Contribution (IWPL) will be raised.

Other targets to be achieved by the DIRGEN BINAPENTA include a manpower information and exchange project as well as distribution of manpower and limitations on the use of alien power. Projects to be achieved include a mechanism for distributing 9,000 workers through a general labor placement program, a mechanism for distributing 80,000 workers through a regional labor placement program (AKAD), [a mechanism for] distributing 2,000 through a program for the disabled, and the placement of 1,500 government workers.

6804

CSO: 4213/217

EAST NUSATENGARA ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSE PANCASILA

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 11 Apr 84 p 1

[Excerpts] On Tuesday afternoon (10 April) mass, professional and functional socio-political organizations from Nusatenggara province announced their decision to support PANCASILA [Five Principles of the Nation] as the only basis for all organized forces.

This statement was sent to the government through Soepardjo Roestan, minister for internal affairs, in the village of Kajawair, county of Sikka (Flores), during the course of the minister's working visit to NTT [East Nusatenggara]. The minister and his party arrived in Maumere from Sorong, Irian Jaya, on Monday afternoon (9 April) on a TNI-AU [Indonesian Air Force] Hercules.

In response to that statement, the minister said that it showed a positive attitude to be proud of. "I am convinced that the statement was not based on anyone's orders, but came from your hearts," he said. The minister promised that he would convey the Sorong and NTT statements to President Suharto when he arrived in Jakarta.

9B46

CSO:4213/214

INDONESIA

BURSAH SENTENCED TO 18 MONTHS

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 11 Apr 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] On Wednesday [11 April], the panel of judges of the Central Jakarta state court, headed by Oemar Sanusi, SH [Master of Laws], sentenced Bursah, alias Zarnubi, born in 1959, to 1 year 6 months in prison. The prosecuting attorney T. Simanjuntak, SH, had asked for a sentence of 3 years 6 months.

The panel of judges thought that it had been proved that the defendant was guilty of breaking section 160 of the KUPH [Code of Criminal Laws] by inciting to damage property on 18 October 1983 at Jayabaya University, Jakarta.

There were a large number of visitors to the session at which the sentence was announced and the number of security officers was doubled.

After the sentence was announced, the defendant, through his team of lawyers, headed by Abdurahman, SH, said that it would take a week to decide whether to appeal or not. The prosecuting attorney said the same.

The charge was that on Tuesday, 18 October 1983, the defendant had orally and in writing incited a group of Jayabaya University students to commit criminal acts or to forcibly resist the authorities or to refuse to follow lawfully established rules and regulations.

In the previous session, the prosecuting attorney stated his opinion that the accusations had been lawfully and convincingly proven. It turned out that the panel of judges had the same opinion.

9846  
CSO:4213/214

# SUDOMO EXPLAINS LAYOFF, TERMINATION OF WORKERS

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 12 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] Companies which continue to lose money because their production and sales have declined may lay off some workers but must pay them every month. This can only be done as a last resort, after trying to reduce overtime or the number of shifts.

However, the company must first get DEPNAKER's [Department of Manpower] permission to lay off workers, i.e., PHK (break a labor agreement), especially if there are more than 10 people involved. This decision also affects state enterprises because DEPNAKER, in principle, controls manpower.

Minister of Manpower Sudomo made this statement on Wednesday [11 April] in response to questions from reporters, after signing a cooperative agreement between the HIPERKES [Occupational Hygiene, Health and Safety] Center and the HIPERKASI [Indonesian Occupational Safety Enterprises Association]. These questions were asked because of the possibility that some companies will lay off employees before consulting with DEPNAKER.

According to Sudomo, there are ways of keeping workers on the payroll if company production declines. For example, some of the workers can work fewer than 6 days a week without being docked.

## Not Uniform

The minister also sees no uniformity yet in interpreting the PHK procedures. "In fact, it's still confused," he said. There are three main reasons for laying off workers--because they have broken regulations or have been involved in some criminal activity, because the company has continued to decline or because the workers involved can no longer carry out their duties or have become incapacitated.

He quickly added that nevertheless the PHK procedures must obey the existing regulations. If fewer than 12 people are involved, the layoffs must go through the P-4D (Provincial Labor Dispute Settlement Committee) and then the P-4P (at the central level). If a mass layoff, i.e., more than 10 people, is contemplated, then it must be approved not only by the P-4P but also by the minister of manpower. "The procedure cannot be evaded," the minister continued.



So that companies cannot just do as they please, the minister is going to issue a new directive shortly that any company which intends to lay off more than 10 workers must first be audited (have its books examined) by a state accountant. This will be done in order to show whether the company is really continuing to lose money and so has to reduce its work force.

The system of examining the books of any company planning to lay off workers went into effect after PT PELNI [Indonesian National Shipping Company] laid off 3,772 workers.

#### Not Restrictive

Meanwhile, after receiving a delegation from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the minister reemphasized that Indonesia is not restricting the number of foreign workers here. The only reason controls have been put on foreign workers is to simplify procedures and eliminate bureaucracy, creating a better atmosphere so that foreigners will not hesitate to invest in Indonesia.

Controls are also part of the plan for technology transfer. Accordingly, certain positions which can be handled by Indonesian workers have been declared closed to foreigners. The Minister of Manpower's order No 57 of 1984 determined that certain oil and natural gas positions were closed to foreigners. This regulation was first applied to government agencies; others will follow shortly.

The 5-member U.S. Chamber of Commerce delegation, headed by Jeffry Jonnes [as published] met with Sudomo and asked him directly about the government's new policies on regulating foreign workers in Indonesia. The minister's frank statements were explanations to the members of the U.S. delegation, who asked a lot of questions about the recent controls on foreign workers.

9846

CSO:4213/214

REFORESTATION BY ABRI TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 12 Apr 84 pp 1, 7

[Excerpts] Minister of Forestry Soedjarwo has estimated that the results of the ABRI [Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces] Integrated Reforestation project in Lampung have been amazing and encouraging. There are many aspects of the ABRI project which can be imitated and, it is hoped, can be applied to other places. It is an important contribution to the government's forestry agencies in the provinces. "Just imagine a former problem area in which everything is now going smoothly because of ABRI's reforestation," said the minister when asked for his reaction to the project which started on 4 October 1983.

In this connection, ABRI is considered the best way to provide an impetus because it turns out that no matter how hard the task ABRI can do it well.

Minister Soedjarwo agrees with Eng Wartono Kadri, director general of RRL (Reforestation and Land Rehabilitation), who thinks that the ABRI project has been amazing. The minister, who recently inspected the area in Lampung reforested by ABRI, said that only a small part of the reforested area had failed.

In implementing this project, each ABRI soldier is helped by five local people, except that ABRI does it all in areas which are unpopulated or underpopulated.

9846

CSO:4213/214

## HABIBIE ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 19 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Jakarta MERDEKA--Indonesia will continue [to obtain] and master technology, with or without help from other nations, Minister of State for Research and Technology B.J. Habibie stated this on Wednesday at the Merdeka Palace [national reception center for foreign dignitaries] after a meeting with President Soeharto.

"We will not beg for technology transfer from foreign countries," he said.

Habibie was accompanying Franz-Josef Strauss, the prime minister of Bavaria of West Germany who came for a formal visit with President Soeharto, at the Merdeka Palace.

Concerning a technology transfer program, the German visitor said that working together with countries with advanced technology is the best way [to obtain] and for the master technology, because [a country] cannot directly go from "zero" to "the most advanced."

The same step, according to Franz-Josef Strauss, was taken by West Germany right after World War II, and only then aimed at "self-sufficiency."

### Export Credit

In his other remark to the reporter, Habibie said that the PT Nurtanio Airplane Industry, which is presently the second largest airplane exporter in Asia following Japan, is trying to get credit security for exporting airplanes to be sold out of the country.

According to Habibie, planes produced by Nurtanio are already in the Thai market. Moreover, preparations are being made to send planes to Saudi Arabia and negotiations are taking place with Malaysia and Bangladesh.

It was stated that credit security is being sought from the Islamic Development Bank; the credit will then be granted to third parties, Bangladesh being the first.

The credit grants to third parties are also being discussed with Japanese companies.

"But, the important thing is, we make good quality planes with affordable prices," he added.

While this is the case, Habibie reminded [his listeners] that the marketing of Nurtanio aircraft is actually oriented more toward in-country sales and that [Nurtanio] is continuing to develop [aviation] technology. This step was taken by Germany, America, Japan and other countries.

According to Habibie, the [aircraft] market in Indonesia itself is really quite big, because by the year 2000 the population will reach approximately 220 million people, the economy will be more stable, the GNP [Gross National Product] will be higher and technology will be completely mastered.

"Indonesia's potential is not below America's," he said.

Meanwhile, Franz Josef Strauss, who is also the prime minister committee chairman of 12 West German states, said that markets for Nurtanio airplanes are open in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

12657

CSO: 4213/216

NO BONUSES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES THIS YEAR

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 18 May 84 pp 1, 11

[Excerpts] After dedicating the State Treasury Office and the Second Bandung State Finance Office buildings on Jalan Suci in Bandung today [17 May], Finance Minister Radius Prawiro told reporters that the government will not give government employees a Lebaran bonus or an extra month's pay this year.

He said that the allowances will not be given because the government raised the pay of government employees by 15 percent not too long ago and also because it would have to increase the state budget.

The minister said that there are 1.5 million government employees and pensioners and that the government spends 126 billion rupiah each month to meet their pay and pension costs. The province of West Java alone has 30,000 government employees and pensioners and their pay and pensions cost the government 20 billion rupiah.

He said that government funds totalled 6.9 trillion rupiah in the first fiscal year of Pelita III [Third 5-Year Plan] and 16.6 trillion rupiah in the last year. Now, at the beginning of Pelita IV, they total 20.5 trillion rupiah.

With the accumulation of this large amount of funds Indonesian society is determined, on the one hand, to proceed straight ahead with development, and, on the other hand, not to rely on foreign aid but to provide its own funds from domestic sources, he said.

5458

CSO: 4213/229

## FOOD PROCUREMENT UP LAST YEAR

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 19 Apr 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS--Food procurement by BULOG [Logistics Agency] up to April 1984 has reached an equivalent of 525,000 tons of rice. This number is by far higher than the 18,438 tons procured in 1983. Thus, it is estimated that the food procurement this year will be over 2 million tons.

Minister of Cooperatives and KABULOG [chief, Logistics Agency] Bustanil Arifin SH [Master of Laws] told this to reporters Wednesday at the Merdeka Palace after a meeting with the president. "Last year, food procurement was far below the estimated goal of 2 million tons. As for this year, it is estimated that [procurement] will be higher than 2 million tons," he said.

The good harvests are mostly in Java. For instance, the harvest is 71,000 tons in West Java, 120,000 tons in Central Java, and 225,000 tons in East Java. As for outside of Java, it is 45,000 tons in South Sulawesi, 25,000 tons in West Nusa Tenggara, 8,000 tons in South Sumatera, 3,000 tons in Aceh, 5,000 tons in North Sumatera and nearly 10,000 tons in Lampung.

### No Tolerance

A gratifying matter, said the minister, is that in our food procurement this year, there was no one asking for tolerance. This means that there were no requests to BULOG for purchases of unhusked rice that did not meet the necessary requirements. This proves that the quality of the crops this year is already better.

"All of this has happened because of the increasing amount of markets after the harvest is over. Moreover, the quality of the harvests is not dropping any more," he said. For example, in Aceh they used to leave the crops in the fields following harvest time. This would cause the amount of yellow grains to increase such that the quality of the harvest would no longer meet the standards set in the base price.

Concerning harvesting problems, the minister said that if there was a lack of labor, then students or ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] could be employed. For their help, together with the chance to study food procurement and country living, each student would be paid accordingly.

He stated further that the base price of unhusked rice can still be maintained and that there has not been any fall in the base price yet. The price of rough rice from the farmer sold in KUD's [Village Unit Cooperatives] is 165 rupiahs per kg. On the other hand, it is 176 rupiahs per kg from the KUD's to BULOG and 172 rupiahs per kg from non-KUD's to BULOG.

#### Warehouses

The major concern is the lack of warehouses. Because of the large amount of food procurement added by the crops in stock from last year, we will need a lot more warehouses. The government's warehouses themselves are not sufficient, so it will be necessary to rent private warehouses.

Since there is no problem concerning the funds to buy foodstuffs from the cooperatives, we do not need to worry about rough or polished rice going unsold.

12657

CSO: 4213/216

## NEW OCEAN FISHING PORT CONDUCTING TRIAL OPERATIONS

Jakarta SUARA KARYA in Indonesian 18 May 84 p 2

[Excerpts] Engr Suud Elfandi has announced that the Jakarta Ocean Fishing Port at Muara Baru, which was recently completed at a cost of 31 billion rupiah, will be dedicated by President Suharto in mid-July 1984. Engr Suud Elfandi is the director of infrastructure management of the Directorate General of Fisheries. He made the announcement on Thursday [17 May] when the governor of Jakarta, R. Soeprapto, visited his office at the new fishing port.

He said that construction of the fishing port began in 1980 and was completed 3 months ahead of schedule in March 1984, and that the port is equipped with production, processing and marketing facilities and facilities for the development of the fishing community.

Fishing boats of 10 tons or more will be required to land their catch at Muara Baru when the port is in regular operation. Fishing boats of less than 10 tons will dock at Muara Angke.

Engr Suud said that the ocean fishing port is now conducting trial operations and that it is expected that regular operations can be begun, although not at full capacity, before the port is dedicated in July.

Drs Soekirno, the head of the project management unit of the Jakarta Ocean Fishing Port, noted that this is Indonesia's first ocean fishing port and that construction costs totalled 31 billion rupiah. Costs were met with 7.6 billion rupiah from the national budget and 23.4 billion rupiah in aid from the Japanese government.

The port has docking facilities for boats of up to 1,500 tons. Its marketing facilities include an auction building with an area of 3,367 square meters. It also has cooling rooms with three levels of refrigeration (-5°C, -30°C and -40°C) and a total capacity of 840 tons of fish, an ice plant that can produce 150 tons of ice a day, and other facilities.

Drs Soekirno said that the Jakarta Water Company is supplying the port with water at a rate of 5 liters per second. This rate of flow does not pose any operational problems, he said, but it is hoped that the flow can be maintained on a continuous basis. The port requires 800 cubic meters of water per day for its operations.



During his visit to the port Jakarta Governor R. Soeprapto also toured the traditional processing facilities at the Muara Angke fishing village. The fishermen here will receive training in the processing and packaging of fish, including the manufacture of labels, and in marketing methods that are attractive to consumers.

Engr Soemaryo Widjojo, the head of the Jakarta Fishery Service, said that the traditional processing facilities cover an area of 2.25 hectares and have the capacity to sun dry 40 tons of fish. There are 103 workhouses and each of these is rented out for 25,000 rupiah a month.

There are 11,000 fishermen in the Jakarta area at the present time, plus another 4,000 fish farmers. Ninety-six tons of fish are brought into Jakarta every day.

5458

CSO: 4213/229

## CONTINUING DECLINE IN EAST JAVA SUGAR PRODUCTION TOLD

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 18 May 84 p 10

[Text] In a recent survey of several areas in East Java where the TRI [Tebu Rakyat Intensifikasi/Smallholders Sugar Cane Intensification] program is being carried out, MERDEKA found that the productivity of sugar cane is declining from year to year because the technology involved is not being applied correctly. The dibbling, planting, fertilizing, maintenance and cutting procedures that are being carried out do not meet the established criteria.

There is an appropriate technology that should be used in planting sugar cane and the foremen of the sugar mills are familiar with it, however the planting procedures used by the farmers do not meet the established criteria. The weather also affects the cane crop. For example, if there is a drought during the planting season and heavy rainfall when the cane is ripening (cutting time) the sugar content and weight of the cane per unit of cropland can be affected.

Sugar production per unit of cropland has been on the decline for a number of planting seasons and there are those who say that this is the fault of the KUDs [Koperasi Unit Desa/village-unit cooperatives], for while the KUDs function as rural economic institutions they have no role in the management process.

The head of a KUD in the Kediri area of East Java said that the blame should not be placed on the KUDs alone since they are not the only ones who are involved in the TRI program. The TRI program is an integrated program and a number of authorities are involved in it, including the sugar mills, the East Java Plantation Service and the Sugar Plantations and Companies Research Institute at the control level, the Agricultural Education, Training and Extension Services Agency and other agencies at the extension services level, and the KUDs, banks, the Department of Home Affairs, the National Logistics Agency and the Indonesian Sugar Council at the support level.

He said that the activities of all the authorities involved in the TRI program must be truly integrated if sugar production is to increase.

Records kept by MERDEKA show that sugar production per hectare of cropland has declined from year to year. In the period from 1930 to 1940 an average of 135.9 tons of sugar cane was produced per hectare. The sugar content of the cane was 11.47 percent and 15.6 tons of sugar were produced from the cane.

In the 1971-1975 period 92.3 tons of cane were produced per hectare, sugar content was 10.32 percent and sugar production was 9.5 tons. From 1976 to 1981 cane production was 77.3 tons per hectare, sugar content was 9.16 percent and sugar production was 7.2 tons.

In the 1982 milling year 68.7 tons of cane were produced per hectare, sugar content was 9.12 percent and sugar production was 6.3 tons. MERDEKA's field survey indicates that the productivity of the cane planted in 1982/83 and milled in 1983 was even less than that of the preceding year.

Engr Sugianto, the head of the Fishermen, Farmers and Cooperatives Credit Office of Bank Rakyat Indonesia, told a MERDEKA reporter on Wednesday [16 May] that from the 1975/76 planting season until 1980/81 the TRI program was carried out jointly by the sugar mills, the farmers and Bank Rakyat Indonesia. Beginning in the 1981/82 planting season the KUDs, in their capacity as rural economic institutions, also began to provide credit to TRI farmers.

He said that TRI credit has a good repayment record and that less than 5 percent of the recipients are in arrears. It must be recognized, he added, that the success achieved in the repayment of the credit is due to the fact that the sugar mills deduct the amount owed from the earnings of the farmers.

He also believes that there must be real integration of the activities of all the authorities involved in the TRI program for sugar production to increase.

Some time ago President Suharto said that the sugar mills are completely responsible for the application of the appropriate technology in the fields because it is the sugar mills that control the technology. Even so, the application and monitoring of technology by the sugar mills will be more successful if it is supported by other elements, such as extension services and agricultural production inputs.

All authorities involved in the TRI program are expected to integrate their activities so that sugar production can be increased through the program. And although these authorities are making concrete efforts to develop the KUDs so that they can play a greater role in the TRI program, these efforts must be intensified.

TRI farmers who are trying to increase sugar production and who are repaying their TRI credit should be able to benefit from the results of their work and, in particular, should be able to meet their daily needs. Consequently, a solution to this problem must be found.

5458

CSO: 4213/229

# SOUTH SUMATRA LEADING EXPORTER OF NONOIL COMMODITIES

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 18 May 84 p 9

[Text] South Sumatra Governor H. Sainan Sagiman said recently in Lubuklinggau that the provincial government will continue its efforts to increase nonoil exports. He noted that at the end of Pelita III [Third 5-Year Plan] the province's nonoil exports were valued at more than \$704.8 million and that this made the province Indonesia's leading producer of foreign exchange from non-oil exports.

He said that the area planted in traditional estate crops such as coffee, rubber and white pepper--crops formerly grown only on Bangka and Belitung--had increased to 843,779 hectares by the end of 1983. Smallholders' estates occupy 98 percent (778,000 hectares) of this area and state and private plantation companies hold 2 percent.

He said that South Sumatra has a population of about 5.4 million people or 450,000 families and that about 2.2 million people are directly engaged in agriculture and are growing rubber, coffee, white pepper and other estate crops.

An official of the South Sumatra Plantation Service told MERDEKA on another occasion that the province's 1983 earnings from rubber, coffee and white pepper estate crops could produce more than \$244.7 million in foreign exchange for the state. However, he did not provide any precise figures that could be used to compare the 1982 and 1983 export earnings of these three commodities.

The official also said that South Sumatra's prospects in the nonoil commodities sector looked favorable for Pelita IV. He noted that in 1982 the province exported 59,793.398 tons of coffee valued at \$85,585,320, and in 1983 it exported 36,849.857 tons of coffee valued at \$101,060,969. This means that South Sumatra's coffee exports accounted for about 14.34 percent of the total value of the province's exports in 1983, he said.

Governor H. Sainan Sagiman also said that in view of the present situation of the plantations in South Sumatra, he is optimistic that there will be an average increase of about 17 percent in the province's exports of nonoil commodities during Pelita IV. Minister of Trade Rachmat Saleh said recently in Palembang that he would like to see a 17 percent increase.

## Oil Palms

Regarding the development of oil palm estates in South Sumatra during Pelita IV, a 16,000 hectare site already is being prepared in the Prabumulih area. This estate will be operated as a special nucleus estate and smallholders [NES] project and will be worked by about 8,000 families or 40,000 people, 40 percent of whom will be local residents and 60 percent spontaneous transmigrants. Work will begin around the beginning of 1985. The special NES project at Prabumulih will be followed by the NES IV project at Betung in Musi Banyuasin district. This project will cover 8,000 hectares and will be worked by 4,000 families or 20,000 people. The first phase of this project is scheduled for 1984/85 and work has already begun on the development of a 6,340 hectare area.

5458

CSO: 4213/229

## BRIEFS

**BAVARIAN MINISTER PRAISES HABIBIE**--During the signing ceremony for the document on cooperation with the West German aircraft company, Messerschmitt Boelkow Blohm (MBB) in the BPPT [Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology] building on Thamrin Street on Wednesday evening [18 April], Franz Josef Strauss, prime minister of Bavaria, West Germany, who also heads the West German aircraft company's supervisory board, disclosed something that happened about 8 years ago. He said we regretfully released Habibie to return to Indonesia. He was a skilled worker, a genius, and farsighted. He would have been of great use to our company. It is not often that someone like Habibie is employed by MBB, much less one who gains enough confidence to become one of the directors of MBB. Habibie joined MBB not because he was awarded a position but because he passed various tests given him, Strauss said. Because of his extraordinary capabilities and intelligence, MBB was confident that he could hold the directorial position. We were enchanted by him, but because Indonesia asked for you, Dr Engr B.J. Habibie, we regretfully released you. But what we gave to you was not given in vain. After we visited PT Nurtanio recently, we knew what Habibie had been doing in his beloved homeland. We were amazed at PT Nurtanio's success, and the admiration we have for the success of this venture belongs to Habibie whom we released earlier. Franz Josef Strauss praised Pak Harto's [President Soeharto] instinct for sensing where to find Indonesia's brightest son. [Text] [Jakarta PELITA in Indonesian 21 Apr 84 pp 1, 11] 6804

**NEW AIR BASE COMMANDER**--Malang (AB)--Recently Vice Marshal TNI [Indonesian National Army] Imam Suwongso, PANGKODAU IV [commander, IVth Air Region Command], appointed Flight Col Sudjarwo Parto to be commander of the new Abdul Saleh LANUMA [primary air base]. Flight Col Sudjarwo Parta is the former DIRLITBANG SESKOAU [director of research and development of the Air Force Staff and Command School] in Bandung. In his welcoming address, the PANGKODAU IV said, the decision as to who to appoint to this post was a very important one for KODAU IV because this is part of the overall policy of the TNI-AU [Air Force] leadership in the context of developing the organization. The Abdul Saleh Primary Air Base is a very important base in KODAU IV. It is the home base of OV-10 tactical fighter aircraft and C-130B heavy transport aircraft as well as maintenance units for (alut sista) [air alert system]. Therefore, the role of the Abdul Saleh LANUMA is a very decisive one for air operational missions. Functional units at the Abdul Saleh LANUMA are the 002 Operations Wing, the 30th MAU [military air transport] Wing, the 464th Battalion of PASGAT [strike force], and the 32d Hercules Squadron. Abdul Saleh LANUMA, a military base, is also

used by Merpati Nusantara Airline aircraft on their round-trip domestic routes from Jakarta to Malang and Malang to Denpasar twice daily, flying Fokker F-27's. It should be made known that during the transition period following the death of Flight Colonel H. Susanto, the PANGKODAU IV appointed Flight Lt Col Bae Yudha, KADIS Ops [chief of the Operations Service] at the Abdul Saleh LANUMA, to continue the policies instituted by Flight Colonel Susanto until a new base commander could be appointed by the TNI-AU leadership. [Text] [Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 23 Apr 84 p 6] 6804

CSO: 4213/217



VIRATA DEFENDS MARCOS, GOVERNMENT SYSTEM, ECONOMY

Makati MR.&MS. in English 1 Jun 84 pp 28-31

["Excerpts" of an interview with Prime Minister Cesar E. Virata, "after" the 14 May Batasan elections, at Imus, Cavite, by Michael Purugganan and Mary Eileen Paat: "Conversations With the Prime Minister"]

[Text]

**S**INCE his appointment as head of the finance department in 1970, the quiet, cerebral Cesar E. Virata has drawn up most of the country's economic policies. Largely perceived as devoid of political ambition, he became the Prime Minister in 1978, emerging as the second highest government official, although not really the second most powerful.

But while the wonderland world of politics seems alien to a technocrat, Virata decided that this time, he had to be elected and not merely appointed by the man who has ruled the country for 19 years. Although lacking the charisma that identifies the traditional politician, he nevertheless topped the Cavite polls to win a seat in the Batasang Pambansa.

After the election campaign, Virata sat with the authors in his Imus (Cavite) ancestral home, and discussed the country's political and economic situation, as well as his entry into the political realm. Excerpts of the interview:

**Q. What do you think is the political significance of the Batasang Pambansa elections?**

**A.** At this stage, we are trying to strengthen the semi-parliamentary form of government, which is an important aspect in the development of our government structure. We (the Administration) believe

that the semi-parliamentary form of government is more development-oriented compared with our previous system.

So we hope to develop the political institutions along with the party system. In other words, the Opposition must present their alternative programs. It is unfortunate that during the six years of our

interim period, they did not develop well, even though they were given the chance to do so.

**Q. Do you see any major changes in the Philippine political scene as a result of these elections?**

**A.** I don't think so. President Marcos is KBL and many other governors are also KBL and we will still have a majority in the Batasang Pambansa. It will largely be an adjustment of the policies and programs to meet the realities of the times.

**Q. The events of last year heightened some political passions. Do you think this has been diffused by the elections?**

**A.** Sure! The election is a reconciling act. You can bend what you used to say. We have a law that allows you to do so for effect.

**Q. How would you assess the Opposition?**

**A.** Well, there are so many alliances. They have not dwelt on programs, only in criticisms, which I think is not appropriate. They are instituting more of party politics and an individualistic approach to politics.

**Q. What do you think of Opposition criticisms that the President has too much power? The Prime Minister, for example, doesn't have that much power.**

**A.** That is true. The Prime Minister is not the same Prime minister as in Singapore or in Malaysia or in the UK.

We have a semi-parliamentary form. We are like France or Sri Lanka or Egypt or Korea, where the prime minister is really some sort of operating executive. You have a chief executive, which is the president, and you have a

chief operating officer, which is the Prime Minister — if you compare it with the corporate set-up. I think the power of the prime minister is largely supervisory.

I cannot change programs. It must be the president.

**Q. How do you feel about the fact that as Prime Minister, you may not have so much power as you need?**

**A.** As far as policy-making is concerned, I have a great contribution, because policy is discussed in the Cabinet and then approved by the President.

But regarding on-going programs, unless it is approved by the President, then we cannot change anything. Unlike in a pure parliamentary form, when the Cabinet decides, that's it. But we are still experimenting, and I hope that, we will have a constitutional convention or the regular Batasang Pambansa will review the Constitution for consistency of provisions. Based on experience, maybe we should modify it somehow.

**Q. Modify in what way?**

**A.** Well, for example, we had the issue of synchronization of elections, and the distribution of power and authority. And then, we don't have a full mandate, except at the beginning of our term. To me, that is an important element that we have to consider again in our Constitution.

**Q. You mentioned the distribution of power. What redistribution of power were you thinking of?**

**A.** It goes with the structure, that is why you cannot discuss it in isolation. And that is why it requires a review of so many provisions of the Constitution.

**Q. Do you think that the President has too much power?**

**A.** No, the President must have plenty of power. There is no higher official in government than the President, and if he is not in full possession of power, if something happens, then we will end up in a crisis. All presidents, all chief executives have all the powers. That is standard throughout the world.

**Q. How about the Opposition call for a return to the system of checks and balances?**

**A.** To me, that has been assessed freely during our Constitutional Convention in 1971 up to 1973. The main reason why there was a change to a parliamentary form of government was because for 35 years, there was always a check and nobody moved forward. If you have a developmental situation, you cannot have someone always checking on the other. We must move forward. And the problem is that the major programs of the President under such a system is always blocked by Congress, because they would like to counter-bargain for dole-outs for each member.

And the checks and balances, first of all, has been within the KBL party itself. Secondly, we have independent commissions in our Constitution that should check the expenditures, whether they are in accord with law or not. Thirdly, the Opposition can pass resolutions as to inquiring, in aid of legislation, whatever failings of government.

**Q. What about Amendment No. 6, which gives the President legislative powers?**

**A.** Well, you see, Amendment No. 6 has been so misunderstood. And I think it should be related to how the President has really exercised that. All presidents have that throughout the world. For example, the Malaysian prime minister has these so-called emergency powers.

But the problem with the provisions of the Constitution before Amendment No. 6 is that the President must declare martial law just to enact it. So, taken in a larger context, Amendment No. 6 prevents the declaration of martial law.

**Q. Some would say, however, that it institutionalizes martial law.**

**A.** No, no, because martial law is a commander-in-chief provision calling the armed forces, whereas Amendment No. 6 is there if the Batasan fails to enact and we need an enactment.

For example, we need something for labor. You think you can convene the Batasang Pambansa just to do that, and you think you can do it in one week? That is why we must have reserve powers. And I think it is essential for the President of the Philippines to have some powers not related to martial law.

**Q. But some of these powers may be abused.**

**A.** Let it be decided later, not just by conjecturing. An abuse can be corrected by the Batasang Pambansa, because we have the right to amend any decree or any law.

**Q. What about the detention powers of the President?**

A. When you have a situation where the communists are using different fronts and are using various means to subvert, well, there should be another power of government. We should not be helpless.

**Q. Do you think political stability will return in the next few years?**

A. Well, right now, we are headed in the right direction. There was passion and sympathy (generated by the killing of former Sen. Benigno Aquino, Jr.). I think that the Agrava Commission is doing their job.

We have to have faith in ourselves, that we can resolve problems. That we can correct the wrong-doings. So I think if we were left alone by ourselves, if we don't have these outside influences, then I believe we will be able to manage our way fully.

**Q. Do you think there can be reconciliation in the Philippines between the various political forces?**

A. Well, there will always be a contest, but when you talk of national reconciliation, it is being given the opportunity to present themselves. That is what I mean. Nobody is blocking them from having a chance and an opportunity to say what they want, to run for office, criticize, organize themselves. Nobody is preventing them from doing that.

In fact, we are in favor of having an Opposition party. That's why the KBL has been all too willing to accede to their various requests.

**Q. What is the shape of our economy?**

A. We were faced with an energy bill that was so high. In 1974, 95 per cent of our energy was imported. Now we are down to 62-63 per cent.

We have been able to transform our economy so that our economy is sounder now than before. But we lack the resources to implement programs, so we have to borrow. The lending countries have policies, and they do not care who gets hurt. Because of their failure to legislate reductions in their budget deficits, they are using monetary measures to increase interest rates. And that's what has affected us greatly, because we have to borrow to transform our economy. We get hit on the other side. But that is a reality, a fact of life.

We have been able to provide food. We are keeping up with social services, of providing schools for our children. We have many other programs. I don't see why people call it immediately a crisis when the basic structure has improved.

As far as the financing is concerned, the trade credit has been withdrawn. The (World) Bank, by concerted action, can withdraw immediately the entire trade credit on which international trade depends. We are on a cash basis now. So, we have to resolve the problem now, not only for us but for the rest of the world.

**Q. Were there other factors that led to our problems?**

A. You really have these series of events starting in 1979. You have an increase in oil prices which reached up to \$34 per barrel. Then,

when monetary measures were undertaken by government, protectionist measures were instituted. So they are charging us high for oil and interest whereas they are trying to reduce our market. How can you operate on that basis?

We have to continue reducing our imports and that is not very easy; that cannot be done overnight.

And then politically, we were not really helped at all. They started attacking me (in the KBL) in April of 1983. There were restrictive measures, because we would like to reduce our imports and we had to be restrictive. And then we thought we recovered in June with the Consultative Group meetings, but the August event came. Certain instabilities came about, so it worsened the situation. That is how we finally ended up with this request for a stand-by.

**Q.** One problem that is heard frequently is that we borrow money and it goes to programs that are not economically sound.

**A.** Well, there are many aspects of borrowing that we cannot generalize. We have borrowed money for road-building, for waterworks, for irrigation. These are the things that the people need. We believe they are good programs because it increases transport efficiency, it increases productivity, it provides basic services to our people.

Now there are several private sector requests that the government has guaranteed because these are proponents that have been reviewed quite well by government agencies and these are private sector projects which are actually in line with the investment priorities plan.

Poor technology, poor management, bad intentions plus the recession all combined together

and I suppose resulted in the failure of these enterprises. So we are in charge of rehabilitating them. There are certain big projects like in Marinduque which was very well planned, except that the circumstances did not favor it.

**Q.** But there have been charges that these are projects run by people close to government officials.

**A.** I suppose some of these, yes. But the largest company, Marinduque, where we had very substantial exposure — we cannot call it cronyism. It was one of those planned developments, always correct in approach and in analysis, but the turn of events did not favor it. And that happened to many projects of a similar nature.

**Q.** How are the talks with the IMF progressing now?

**A.** We have just gone through another round of talks. I think what remains is finalizing these. Probably in the next two or three weeks, we will be able to get the letter of intent signed.

**Q.** Will there be a devaluation after the elections?

**A.** As Minister of Finance, I'm not allowed to answer this question.

**Q.** What efforts have been done to restructure the economy?

**A.** We started restructuring industry in 1980, but through a very slow process of tariff changes, taxations, incentives. It will take quite a while before these things actually take place.

Now we have this shortage of foreign exchange. Maybe some of these industries that were destined before to adjust slowly, with the lack of foreign exchange, they should really stop. And some of



them have already stopped.

We have to change our lifestyle. There are so many things that require imported raw materials, payment of royalties, management fees. These things are what we cannot afford, and so I am saying that we have to take advantage of this crisis to make the people realize that we should not continue with that in the future.

Now, our exports are doing well — it's about 10.6 per cent over that of last year. I think agriculture will probably do a great deal better, now that we have the early rains. So I believe that our economy will revive along with the industrial economies. Of course, we will experience slow growth because we are still cutting down on imports.

**Q. How long do you think this crisis will last?**

A. Well, I do not know what they mean by crisis. You mean to say that just because we cannot buy the automobile we like, it is a crisis. What I'm saying is that as far as basic needs are concerned, we are supplying them and there should be no crisis about basic requirements.

But what I would not like to put into the minds of the people is that when they do not have luxuries, it is a crisis. That is the wrong approach. I think we have to educate our people. They never had it so good.

**Q. Going back to your campaign, some people see a technocrat as an ivory-tower type detached from the masses. How do you feel about this?**

A. Well, I think that is the problem of the press, not me. They start labelling you, identifying you as if you were a product. But that is

not the way I behave and act and feel.

I have had good training in engineering, in business, and I think, based on my experience, I know how to approach problems and evaluate them. I have no problem dealing with people. It is true we (technocrats) went through a long period when we were not involved in politics.

**Q. But do you consider yourself now as more of a politician?**

A. I think all of us have some of those elements. Anybody who has studied is a technocrat. Anybody who has participated in the social-political structure is a politician. It seems to me we are involved in trying to shape our programs through the political process.

**Q. But this is your first political campaign?**

A. That's right.

**Q. Would you expect some personal changes after this?**

A. Well, I knew what would happen, because even though I didn't campaign before, the requests of the people to come, as far as getting involved in developmental work, is my basic function. I don't only go to Cavite but to other provinces.

**Q. Many saw your image as a quiet man a disadvantage in the political arena. Did you ever find yourself at a disadvantage?**

A. No. I think it is how you relate to the people, how they accept your explanations and the programs. Some do it in a bombastic way. They think they are effective in that way, but I have my own style. They have to accept me for that.

**Q. Do you plan to change this style?**

**A. No. I'm too much of a fundamentalist in approach. I believe in clarifying issues, what are the fundamentals. I don't go for gimmicks, because in the end, gimmickry does not pay. That is why we have been challenging the Opposition to come out with their own program. It is not enough for the Opposition to criticize.**

**Q. What about the Presidency in 1987? Do you plan to run?**

**A. I don't know. I have a very unplanned career. M M**

CS0: 4200/846



VERITAS PUBLISHES CARDINAL SIN POST ELECTION MESSAGE

Quezon City VERITAS in English 3-9 Jun 84 p 8

[Text] May 14th represented a triumph of the Filipino spirit. His collective act of moral courage and political maturity has returned the nation to democracy, carrying it over the dark tides of degrading authoritarianism into the lighted shores of freedom and national dignity.

The Filipino voted not for political interests but for morality and integrity in government. He voted to once more reassert his vision and desire for a free and just society. May 14th marked the end of our people's fatalism in the face of oppressive power, an end to our non-involvement and cowardice before machineries that all too often used political, economic and military means to crush the people's will. From Nueva Vizcaya to Cebu, in Negros Occidental and in Antique, the people's dormant courage surfaced in a nationwide moral demonstration to tell every Filipino, specially victims of injustice, that we are no longer alone.

The experience of May 14th and the days immediately afterwards inaugurated a kind of moral renewal throughout our land. We came once more to know our true being as Filipinos: that we are a proud people whose votes cannot be bought; that we are a brave people determined to protect our democracy; that we form an incorruptible nation calling for a new leadership truly reflective of our historical traditions of honesty, humility and unselfish dedication for the common good.

Wherever I went in Europe and in America, people approached me to express their admiration for the heroic courage of our people in voting according to their conscience. But more precious than the praise of foreigners is the revitalized sense of pride we now witness among our own people. How splendid it is to see the pride of parents for young sons and daughters who volunteered long hours for NAMFREL work. How consoling is the pride our people have for the professional behaviour of the majority of our Armed Forces during those difficult days. What a blessing it is to experience the pride in the hearts of families whose politician parents graciously conceded defeat in order to preserve peace. To these men and women, young and old--Filipino all--goes the undying gratitude of a nation now reborn because of their courage and uprightness.

Now, after long years of suffering and exile, the Filipino is about to re-enter his ruined home and to put it in order according to the norms of truth, justice and freedom.

What our people have achieved, our government no less can likewise accomplish. No less of moral courage is required of government to bring about national reconciliation and to put an early stop to all armed conflicts where Filipinos kill Filipinos. No less of a sense of justice is required of government to bring about the release of all political prisoners, the protection of genuine press freedom, the repeal of decrees that infringe on our human rights. Here, I call attention once more to our circular letter of April 25, 1984, especially to the appeal that no form of coercion and reprisal be made against our people after election time.

Let, therefore, the people's achievement of May 14th remain ever untainted by the reimposition of decrees that diminish their freedom, their dignity, their rights as children of God and as free and noble citizens of this nation. Let this triumph of the Filipino spirit be the occasion for our joining hands together to rebuild our democratic foundation, to leave behind personal hatred and conflicts--in order that we might move forward to a new and exciting era of national unity, national reconciliation and national prosperity under God.

CSO: 4200/846

## MR. &amp; MS. ANALYZES BOYCOTT EFFECT, NAMFREL PERFORMANCE

## Boycott Gains Quantified

Quezon City VERITAS in English 1 Jun 84 pp 10, 11

[Article by Jose F. Lacaba: "How Did Boycott Score?"]

[Text]

**P**EOPLE are saying that the biggest loser in the May 14 election was the boycott movement — as if boycott were a candidate running for office. The euphoria over the UNIDO's impressive gains in Metro Manila has been so overwhelming that even boycott adherents are beginning to feel like defeated candidates.

On the other hand, the more optimistic boycotters have reportedly "claimed victory for their cause" (*Bulletin Today*, May 18) — and have even gone so far as to say that "they helped the cause of the Opposition — that the Opposition won because they boycotted" (Teodoro Valencia, *Daily Express*, May 19).

So what was it for the boycott movement — debacle or victory?

The problem is that it is difficult to make a *quantitative* assessment of the boycott movement's showing. The only definite figure available at this writing is that logged in Metro Manila's "people's boycott centers": a total of 14,324 boycotters (*Malaya*, May 17).

That seems like a pitiful figure, compared with the millions who trooped to the official polling places. However, in any *qualitative* assessment, that is not a figure to be sneezed at. After all, Christ began with only 12 disciples, and here you have 14,324 Filipinos of extraordinary courage, defiantly proclaiming to the dictatorship that they are willing to be arrested, prosecuted or harassed for this open act of civil disobedience.

But the score at the "people's boycott centers" does not tell the whole story. Many others who were for boycott did not agree with the idea of having boycott centers, or did not know where the boycott centers were, or feared the consequences of an open, identifiable boycott.

Still, the gains of the boycott movement can be quantified somehow — if we can get the answers to the following questions.

1. How many Filipinos of voting age did not register at all?
2. How many of those who registered did not vote?

3. How many of those who did vote deliberately spoiled their ballots as a form of boycott?

We may never get exact answers to these questions, since the COMELEC, the NAMFREL, the KBL, the UNIDO and all the forces for participation may not be interested in those answers. However, certain extrapolations (if one may be allowed to use a 64-dollar word) can be made based on available data.

*Ibon Facts and Figures* (February 29), a regular data sheet, reports that the National Census and Statistics Office places the number of qualified voters at 28,800,000 — or more than one-half of the total population of 51.9 million.

The COMELEC has its own figures. Registered voters for the January 27 plebiscite, based on the old 1981 voters' list, numbered, according to the COMELEC, either 29.37 million (*Malaya*, May 10) or 29,087,988 (*Ibon Facts and Figures*, February 29).

I don't know which is the accurate figure, but let's take the last one, since it's the most detailed: 29,087,988 registered voters in the last plebiscite.

Now, for the answer to our first question: How many did not register at all for the May 14 election?

The COMELEC says that "exactly 24,972,148 voters or 85 per cent of the old voters' list" registered for May 14 (*Malaya*, May 10).

In other words, there was a decrease of 4,115,840 or close to 15 per cent.

A decrease, of course, was to be expected, since the current list does not include voters who had died, been disqualified or gone abroad, according to the

COMELEC. However, the COMELEC fails to mention that a number of new voters have come of age since 1981. This could effectively cancel out the deaths, disqualifications and emigrations.

It is, therefore, not farfetched to attribute the decrease in great part to the boycott movement. In other words, it is not unlikely that more than 4 million qualified voters boycotted the May 14 election by not registering at all.

The second question is: How many of those who registered did not vote?

As we have seen, the COMELEC places the number of registered voters for May 14 at 24,972,148.

It is reported that there was an election day turnout of 80 per cent (*Veritas*, May 20-26).

If 80 per cent cast their votes, then 20 per cent did not. I would like to believe that this 20 per cent joined the boycott.

This means that, out of 24,972,148 registered voters, 19,977,718 went to the polling places and 4,994,430 stayed away.

In brief, it is again not unlikely that close to 5 million qualified voters boycotted the May 14 election by registering but not voting.

The third question — How many of those who voted spoiled their ballots as a form of boycott? — is the most difficult to answer. Neither the COMELEC nor the NAMFREL has apparently seen fit to tally the ballots marked BOYCOTT or marked with an X.

That such ballots exist is attested to by Eugenia D. Apostol (*Mr. & Ms. Series for Justice and National Reconciliation*, May 18). In Ms. Apostol's Dasmariñas precinct (No. 555A), out of 380 ballots cast, 240 voted for Manotoc, 80 for Gaite, 12 for Villalon, 3 for

TABLE	
1. Number of registered voters (January 27 plebiscite) .....	29,087,988
Less:	
Number of registered voters (May 14 election) .....	24,972,148
	-----
Decrease (number of those who did not register at all) .....	4,115,840
2. Number of registered voters (May 14 election) .....	24,972,148
Less:	
Approximate number of actual voters (80% turnout) .....	19,977,718
	-----
Difference (number of those who registered but did not vote) .....	4,994,430
3. Number of spoiled ballots (those who voted but expressed their protest against the meaningless election) .....	?

Carbonell — and 45 (or 11.84 per cent) deliberately spoiled their ballots by writing down "crazy items like Au-Au Carbonell, Au-Au Villalon, Boycott or cuss words."

I wouldn't be surprised if spoiled ballots add up to another 4 million. But let us be very conservative in our guesstimate. Let's just say that a little more than *one million boycotted the May 14 election by voting but spoiling their ballots.*

To sum up, more than 4 million did not register at all, close to 5 million registered but did not vote, and 1 million of those who voted may have spoiled their ballots.

What all this means is that the boycott movement can probably count on the open or secret support of a mass base of 10 million. That's at least 20 per cent of the entire Philippine population — and 35 per cent of the voting population.

Now *that* is something definitely not to be sneezed at.

On the other hand, what did the pro-participation Opposition accomplish?

We are all pleasantly surprised and bowled over by the UNIDO's showing in Metro Manila, but are inclined to forget that *it is still the KBL that has won more seats nationwide.* If, as claimed, the voice

of the people was heard in the May 14 election, then the regime is justified in crowing that the people spoke in favor of the regime.

This is how the so-called voice of the people spoke, according to the last reported NAMFREL tally (*Sunday Express*, May 20):

KBL — 101 seats or 65.2 per cent.

UNIDO — 64 seats or 35 per cent.

NP — 7 seats or 3.8 per cent.

Independent — 8 seats or 4.4 per cent.

Others — 3 seats or 1.64 per cent.

If we remember that the NP is the so-called Nacionalista Party of the Administration and the Independents, like Helena Benitez, could very well be KBL candidates who didn't make it to the official slate, then we begin to wonder what the excitement is all about.

The number of seats won by UNIDO, according to the unofficial NAMFREL tally, is not very far from the prediction made by boycott proponent Jose W. Diokno (*Mr. & Ms. Series*, May 11): "Mr. Marcos will allow a minimum of 20 and probably a maximum of 50 to 60 Opposition candidates to win in these elections."

Diokno's most optimistic forecast is short by 4 votes. On the

other hand, the winning percentage, 35 per cent, is less than the most modest estimate made by the UNIDO itself, since it predicted it would win, "at worst, 38 to 40 per cent and, at best, up to 60 per cent of the 183 Batasan seats at stake" (*Bulletin Today*, April 28). Thus, it isn't quite accurate to say that the "happy results exceeded the fondest dreams of the Opposition" (Vic Barranco, *Malaya*, May 22).

Another Diokno prediction (*Newsweek*, May 14) has also come true:

"It is impossible for the Opposition to expect to win 75 per cent of the seats contested — which is what is needed to override a presidential veto or to impeach the President."

This is not a sour-graping, I-told-you-so article. It aims only to present certain facts that should put the boycott movement in perspective and prevent us from entertaining any illusions about the Batasan.

After all, there is still Amendment 6 to contend with.

There is still the PDA to protest against.

There are still many repressive laws and decrees to be repealed.

There is still a dictatorship to be dismantled. MM



## NAMFREL Obstacles, Successes, Funding

Makati MR.&MS. in English No 37, 1 Jun 84 pp 12-14

[Article by Corazon C. Fiel: "NAMFREL: Too Much Candle Power, or Too Little?"]

[Text] A suburban mayor wanted to know: what happened, he asked the town's barangay captains and political ward leaders in one gathering where they discussed the results of the last elections, why did they lose? "Well, Mr Mayor," they answered, "how could we have pushed through with our 'contingency plans' when the precincts were crawling with NAMFREL volunteers?" Translation: how could they cheat with NAMFREL around?

When Joseph Estrada, the mayor of San Juan resigned because the UNIDO candidate, Neptali Gonzales, won convincingly over Ronaldo Zamora, the KBL bet, he put the blame on NAMFREL. And now, here comes Leonardo Perez, the minister of political affairs, fighting for political survival in Nueva Vizcaya.

Nueva Vizcaya, he warned, is like a "tinderbox" as a result of what he called the "collusion" between his opponent, KBL Independent candidate Carlos Padilla, and NAMFREL "in the manipulation of the election tally." Perez angrily charged that hardly had the counting of votes started on election day when NAMFREL began posting figures in large tally boards fronting the capitol building proclaiming that Padilla was leading. "The malicious intent was evident," he said, "to condition the people's minds to the suspicion that if I won, my victory was gained through frauds and irregularities."

But how could that be when the NAMFREL chapter in Nueva Vizcaya was disenfranchised on the eve of the elections by the COMELEC?

Jose Concepcion, Jr., as chairman of NAMFREL, is only too aware of this peculiar situation. He has been getting flak from many sides; and the criticisms continued on to this day, even after the elections. He has been dismissed as naive by skeptics; as a disguised oppositionist by those who support the government line. And here is the most cruel cut of all--that the organization he heads is funded by the CIA.

Paul Quinn-Judge, in a special article written for the Christian Science Monitor just before the elections, writes that these descriptions are understandable.

Says Judge: "'Naive,' because of the enormity of the task NAMFREL has set itself: the movement's volunteers have...unearthed evidence of what seems to be massive electoral fraud in years. 'Oppositionist' because of NAMFREL suspicions...that the ruling KBL fixed previous elections and may be planning to do it again.



"And 'CIA' because of NAMFREL's ancestry. The original NAMFREL, founded with the encouragement of the Central Intelligence Agency's Edward Lansdale, helped in the...victory of Ramon Magsaysay in the 1953 presidential elections. Mr Magsaysay is still remembered by many Filipinos as the American boy, chosen and molded for the presidency by the US."

Concepcion says that early on in the game, NAMFREL made a survey on just exactly how the residents of the National Capital Region felt about the Batasan elections. 86.9% said yes, they were aware that there would be elections, as against 13.1% who said no. However, 60% of the residents thought that it was not possible to have clean and honest elections; 20% said they believed that clean elections were possible; and the other 20% had no opinion whatsoever.

The results of that survey were enough to dampen one's spirits. But Concepcion says that "we decided to gamble, to take the challenge of the 20% who believed that elections can be clean."

NAMFREL then worked against time to set the mechanism, which would make clean elections possible. "We worked for the abolition of bloc voting; for representation in the Batasan by province; for a new registration list, among others."

And all these were grudgingly given by President Marcos.

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#### Crumbling hopes

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Concepcion had high hopes; but when registration day came, his hopes almost tumbled like a pack of cards.

Flying voters were so organized — coming out in droves and by the jeeploads — that many NAMFREL volunteers resigned on the spot and threatened to join the boycott movement. In the National Capital Region alone, recruits dropped from an all-time high of 24,000 volunteers to nearly one-half that number, 16,000.

On flying voters, Concepcion cites some incredible examples: "There were flying voters who registered 20, even 40 times. In one

barangay alone, we found 276 thumbprints by 20 fingers. And can you imagine that 27 people had registered, all giving the same address and the same birthdate?

"I only know that twins can be born on the same day," he smiles ironically, because he himself has a twin brother, industrialist Raul.

Then the Cebu NAMFREL chapter wanted to withdraw. Concepcion and Vicente Jayme, the NAMFREL vice-chairman, had to high-tail it to that southern city to persuade them to please hang on. "We had to go to Cebu at least four times." And with the help of many Cebuanos who persuaded the Cebu Board not to quit "just when the fight was beginning," the Cebu NAMFREL chapter stuck it out and held onto their posts come election day.

And then came that famous catastrophe of the indelible ink which was delible after all. The COMELEC, says Concepcion, wanted to keep the boo-boo hush-hush. But NAMFREL decided to tell the people the truth. "So what did the COMELEC do? It with-

drew the citizens' task forces which were supposed to police the polls against any irregularities and banished NAMFREL from Nueva Vizcaya for being supposedly partisan."

By the time the electoral campaign drew to a close, Concepcion, although visibly discouraged by all these setbacks, still kept on saying that "elections are possible, but with great difficulty."

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#### Surprising turnout

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To the surprise of just about everyone including Concepcion and other NAMFREL officials, volunteers suddenly swelled enormously on or just before election day. *Asiaweek* reports that instead of the conservatively projected estimate of 175,000 checkers spread thinly throughout the archipelago where 84,000 precincts had been set up, no fewer than 450,000 citizens stood up to be counted as "*Mga Bantay ng Bayan*."

"In Tondo, on polling day, hordes of people trooped to the NAMFREL center in that district, as early as 6 a.m., to volunteer their services," Concepcion points to Paranaque as another example. "When Bing Escoda-Roxas first held a meeting to organize a chapter, hardly anybody went. But, look, on election day," he says proudly, "all the precincts had NAMFREL volunteers."

What a far cry from six months ago when they were only six, says Concepcion, not without wonder. "We were only six in the beginning — businessman "Ting" Jayme; lawyers Jose Feria, Enrique Syquia, and Raul Roco; and Jaime Ferrer, former chairman of the COMELEC."

Aware of the dangers which awaited them, NAMFREL volunteers, *ang mga Bantay ng Bayan*, bravely and resolutely stood their ground against the arrogance and abuse of power.

Concepcion enumerates a list of terrifying experiences:

—In Isabela, the governor, Faustino Dy, went on the air to announce that NAMFREL volunteers will be arrested on sight by the police and the PC. He was later seen with his son, Benjamin, roaming around the municipality of Kawayan fully armed. Eugenio Esguerra, the NAMFREL municipal chairman of Isabela was beaten up by Mayor Jesus Tumulba.

—In Muntinlupa, three NAMFREL volunteers had to be hospitalized after being mauled by barangay officials.

—In Cebu, 10 volunteers were harrassed and made to strip to their underwear. Their motorcycles were seized.

One indomitable woman, says Concepcion, is Maribel Ongpin, wife to Jaime, Trade Minister Roberto Ongpin's younger brother. "She was pushed around and her camera was confiscated."

In making a preliminary assessment on the conduct of the last elections, Concepcion reveals that the tenor of reports received at the NAMFREL OQC in Greenhills shows that in 64.4% of the country, the elections could be categorized as generally peaceful and honest. In 25.5% of the country, however, the reports of violence were at such a level that the size of the margins between candidates could have been affected or that the election in those areas could be considered a failure. But in

the remaining 10%, "we had no reports because the NAMFREL volunteers here were either kicked out or harrassed."

In other words, in areas where there were no NAMFREL volunteers to man the precincts, there were rampant cases of frauds and irregularities. Some provinces which suffered from a dearth of NAMFREL volunteers were Sultan Kudarat, Misamis Occidental, Aurora, Batanes, Ilocos Sur, Mountain Province, Surigao del Sur, and Davao Oriental. NAMFREL was able to cover 81 electoral districts during the last polls, except for nine provinces.

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#### Fund sources

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Just how and where did NAMFREL get its funding? Concepcion sighs inaudibly before he tackles the question. "Well," he jokes, "the military has been trying to build up that CIA angle." Then, he raises his voice. "Why do we have so little faith in the Filipino, he asks. Does it follow that Filipinos will not move unless they get paid, unless their palms get greased?

"Thousands volunteered their services to NAMFREL freely." They gave so much of their time, money, and effort "so that our country would enjoy free and honest elections." There were NAMFREL volunteers who brought along their own sandwiches as their "baon" in the line of duty, for instance. There were whole municipalities who donated materials like office supplies, posters, etc.

There were families who gladly gave a sack of rice or a case of soft drinks. And there were people who gave money.

NAMFREL has its own finance committee, some of the members of which are Jaime Zobel de Ayala, Dante Santos, Edgardo Angara, and many more from the business community. "We were able to raise P1.2 million; but that amount is not even enough to cover the deficit we have incurred, which is another P1 million."

NAMFREL was purely funded by the generosity of the people, Concepcion stresses. "It is unique, that in the hour of crisis, our people do respond. So, truly, as Ninoy Aquino once said, the Filipino is worth dying for."

And, if NAMFREL is being accused of being partisan, yes, it's true, adds Concepcion. "We are only partisan for the cause of clean and honest elections."

Concepcion plans to convert NAMFREL into something like a citizens' watchdog. A real "*Bantay ng Bayan*". It will seek to propose specific legislation for consideration by the Batasan and will monitor the performance of the newly-elected parliamentarians.

The Makati Business Club, one of its participating organizations, is already working out a process by which its members can keep tab of the proceedings in the Batasan, through a committee which will be headed by activist-businessman Jaime Ongpin. The MBC aims to keep close track of the attendance records of the assemblymen, how certain issues will be voted on, and

how public funds will be spent.

The NAMFREL chairman believes that the regular Batasan, unlike the old one, will not be a lameduck assembly. "Now it is possible for constituencies to be accountable to the people." He urges the businessmen who came to listen to him speak "to watch the proceedings in the Batasan from the galleries, and to talk issues with their respective representatives in the national assembly."

"You leaders in business will help spread the light," he tells them.

Despite the odds — and they were insurmountable, NAMFREL is one big success story. Concepcion gives credit to where it is due. He salutes the Filipino people. "The last elections," he says, "marked the people's victory, not the Opposition or the KBL."

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CSO: 4200/846

# GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS TO LOSE SUBSIDIES

Quezon City VERITAS in English 10-16 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Jesselynn Garcia De La Cruz: "Austerity Measures?—Goodbye Subsidies"]

[Text]

GOVERNMENT corporations will start feeling the full impact of the latest presidential directive imposing stricter economic measures when they begin the struggle to survive without government equity contributions and subsidies in the last two quarters of the year.

Some 200 corporations will be affected by a provision of Letter of Instructions No. 1408, signed last May 9 but released only recently, which suspends until further notice all capital outlays including national government equity contributions to government corporations.

The Batasang Pambansa-approved appropriation for these equity contributions for 1984 total P4.95 billion, with varying but specific amounts channelled to the corporations. With a total cut on these equity contributions and subsidies, the government expects to save at least half of this year's appropriation or some P2.5 billion, sources at the budget office said. For the rest of the year, these corporations will have to subsist on their own resources, but face a bleak future characterized by a shortage of office supplies, suspension of their major

projects and programs and withdrawal of benefits they had enjoyed in the past.

Some of these corporations, reports reaching *Veritas* have indicated, have not yet received their budgets for the second quarter and even these were considered covered by the LOI and withheld from release.

This cutback in contributions to government corporations will only form part of the P11 billion in expenditures which the government hopes to freeze out of the 1984 appropriated budget. The rest will come from further controls in spending through measures specified in the LOI.

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A DIRECTOR of the office of the budget and management said the LOI was intended not only to limit government expenditures but also to control the rate of outflow of cash from the national treasury.

The government has to cutback on its appropriated budget for the year because revenues, which have been lower than anticipated because of reduced local business activity and importations, will not be enough to sup-

port the national budget of P53.45 billion for 1984. Among those releases also to be held back is part of the P15.023 billion appropriated for capital outlays of the various agencies, except the military and the public works ministry.

It will further have to slow down the release of funds from the Bureau of Treasury as cash reserves have reportedly been sinking to dangerous levels. The treasury needs to maintain cash reserves of some P1 billion per week to back the treasury warrants and checks issued by government agencies to cover their purchases.

In the past, these government agencies could issue treasury warrants and Treasury Checking Accounts of Agencies (TCAA) checks in the full amount of their quarterly budget for expenditures incurred in only one month. With LOI 1408, however, the amount of treasury warrants and TCAA checks issued by any agency for a particular month will be limited to only one-third of the Cash Disbursement Ceilings (CDC) allowed for the quarter. In this way, the director explained, cash will be withdrawn from the treasury only

on a monthly basis, in staggered amounts, rather than on a lump-sum quarterly basis.

It has been reported that the cash disbursement ceilings for two months have already been reached and agencies will have to wait until August for their next releases.

The LOI also halted releases from reserves of government agencies' budgets unless authorized by the president upon the recommendation of the budget minister. Reserves form a percentage of an agency's annual appropriated budget which has no cash backing. This means, an agency cannot spend the full amount of its budget as appropriated by the Batasan as part of this is not actually supported with funds. An agency may withdraw from its reserves, with the approval of the president, but this will be covered by a cut in another area of its total budget.

LOI 1408 now, however, restricts any further withdrawal from reserves. One of the last to seek and get approval to withdraw from its reserves was the Armed Forces of the Philippines, which got P664 million more just before elections.



## PRIME RATE FORECAST TO RISE 40 PERCENT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 3 Jun 84 p 14

[Text] The general tightness being experienced in the credit market is driving the short-term prime rate of commercial banks to unprecedented levels and most bankers are anticipating this early it could go up to as much as 40 per cent by the latter part of this year.

Indicators released by the Central Bank over the week-end showed that the prime rate, as quoted by the commercial banks, reached a high of 28 percent and a low of 18 per cent for a mode of 24 per cent.

The short-term prime rate is the lowest effective rate which a bank charges on availments of ₱500,000 and above with maturity of 90 days, more or less, against credit lines of the bank's more established clients, provided that such availments are not eligible for CB rediscounting at the preferential rates.

More established clients are those who have been availing themselves of the facilities of the bank for a number of years, utilizing foreign exchange facilities such as exports, imports and remittances on a regular basis, or availing himself of other fee-based services.

The credit situation has been tight for quite sometime since the monetary authorities imposed measures intended to damp inflation and reduce import demand, as part of the package of measures being prescribed by the International Monetary Fund to correct the imbalance in the current account.

Since the deposit reserve requirements were raised from 23 per cent to 24 per cent last April, the interest rates on all forms of borrowings from the banking system have remained at high levels. Even rates on treasury bills, the financial instrument used by the government to raise its funding requirements, have reached record levels of over 20 per cent both for the 60-day and 90-day issues.

Interbank call loans, which are the sources of reserve-deficient banks for overnight money, have also remained unusually high, even reaching at 60 percent at one point.



Bankers concede that the financial system would be in for a "regime of high interest rates" during the coming years that the government is trying to straighten out the external accounts of the country.

They said that if the reserve requirements were hiked further as a means of soaking up, \$4 billion in excess liquidity in the banking system, prime rates would inevitably go with the general trend of increasing interest rates.

Meanwhile, the Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) has advised borrowers with accounts at 15 per cent per annum but are in arrears in payment would be charged an increased rate of 21 per cent per annum, effective July 16.

If the arrearages were paid before that date, the old interest rate of 15 per cent will prevail.

CSO: 4200/848

PHILIPPINE CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ABUSES

Makati MR.&MS. in English 8 Jun 84 pp 30, 31

[Article by Gene Orejana: "Human Rights Victims Growing in Number"]

[Text]

**W**HILE the COMELEC and other election committees are busy counting the results of the May 14 polls, people in the countryside, particularly in the five provinces in Mindanao, are threatened, indiscriminately killed and massacred, arbitrarily arrested and detained, and declared missing — all victims of human rights violations.

The Philippine Conference for Human Rights (PCHR), an umbrella organization of 10 active human rights groups in the country, has released its reports on human rights cases after a 10-day Fact-Finding Mission (FFM) in Agusan del Norte, Agusan del Sur, Surigao del Sur, Surigao del Norte, and Misamis Occidental.

Conducted last April 4 to 13 by Manila-based and local human rights teams, the PCHR report has documented cases which were not reported or inaccurately reported in government-controlled papers.

Among these are: the unresolved case of the seven missing youths in Butuan City, the fate of a missing churchworker, the killing of five civilians and the mysterious death of a military officer, the unprovoked shooting of three civilians by a drunken soldier, the military crackdown against the religious sector, and the reported links of paramilitary and armed religious groups with the regular military forces.

The youths, missing since March 17, 1984, were identified as: Popeng Jomar, 18; Ricardo Kipkipan, 26; Eddie Almonte, 18; Pedro Gallanero, 28; Simeon Jagape, Jr., 19; Francisco Balucan, 21; and Cenon Lage, 22.

The search led to a discovery of a common grave inside a military detachment of the Army's 36th Infantry Battalion in Tungao. The detachment was abandoned a few days after townsfolk displayed streamers all over Tungao demanding the whereabouts of the seven persons.

Members of the fact-finding mission witnessed the exhumation of what were believed to be bodies of some of the seven youths. Skeletal remains, scalps, a short pants and a blue shirt were found. The clothes were positively identified as belonging to Popeng Jomar.

The retrieval of skeletal remains from a septic tank inside the detachment and the absence of skulls and other parts of their bodies, led the FFM teams to believe that the victims were butchered and parts of their bodies buried separately.

Lts. Madison Honorides and Louie Binuya of the 36IB, respondents to the petition for the writ of habeas corpus filed in behalf of the victims, have repeatedly denied taking the victims in their custody.

However, authorities and human rights groups are still conducting separate investigations of the disappearance and as to why bodies were buried inside a detachment.

A day before the youths were reported missing, a certain Julieta Mahinay, of the Tribal Filipino Program of the Diocese of Surigao City was arrested by elements of the 39th Infantry Battalion in a Bacuag checkpoint outside the city.

Mahinay was on his way home from a retreat in Claver, Surigao del Norte when the passenger jeep he was riding was stopped at the detachment. Witnesses recounted that Mahinay, who was questioned why he was carrying a map on tribal Filipino settlements in the South, remained in the checkpoint and was not seen again since then.

The search in the hills and seashore produced no signs of Julieta Mahinay during the mission's visit to Bacuag last April 10.

Five civilians were also killed in barangay Adlay, Tago, Surigao del Sur.

Soldiers reportedly led by PC Capt. Zacarias Salameda fired upon a group of residents attending a vigil of a woman, identified as Leonarda Rodriguez, who was earlier killed by unidentified armed men. A woman survivor narrated that armed men approached the wake and suddenly an order was shouted by someone from the group: "Shoot from house to house!"

Of the ten people in the vigil, five lay dead: Eutropio Calvario, Martelliano Gallego, Felicola Cahatian, Rito Ringkal, and a certain Rino.

The survivor testified that the shooting lasted about 10 minutes after which the attackers regrouped in a nearby school-building. A heated argument ensued among the armed men, according to the eyewitness, followed by a single gun shot. Later, it was found out that Capt. Salameda was dead too.

After the incident, some 36 families in the barrio were evacuated to the poblacion since their barrio has been declared a "free-fire zone," meaning anyone can be shot on sight by soldiers.

On April 3, 1984, a member of the 28th Infantry Battalion, shot and killed without provocation three civilians identified as Nilo Corvera, Melchor Lamina, and Rinfredo Lamila, all residents of Baybay, San Agustin in Surigao Sur.

Investigations showed that Armyman Rizalino Capila was drunk during the incident and was immediately placed in a military stockade the next day. No complaint has yet been filed by relatives of the victims, nor have they been indemnified by the military.

Last July, Fr. Francisco Olviz, parish priest of Hinatuan, Surigao Sur, and Fr. Francisco Navarro were ordered arrested by Col. Jesus Hermosa, Deputy Regional Commander for Operations, on charges of inciting rebellion.

Fr. Olviz said that two of his former churchworkers were tortured and forced unsuccessfully to sign affidavit implicating him for illegal activities.

"They (the military) have issued 20 warrants of arrests for farmers. They will continue on harassing us but I will have to stay here and be with my flock," said Fr. Olviz after his release.

The 26-page report further documents the killing of Roque Casas in Pangl, Tandag last March 17; the indiscriminate shooting of a drunken Airborne paratrooper near a military checkpoint, resulting in the death of Daniel and Mario Abendan, and Julieta Onor, in Bagong Lunsod, Tandag; the strafing of a house in barrio Quezon, Surigao City by unidentified soldiers last February 17, killing Jose Garcia and wounding Alfonso Glorio; and the arrest and torture of Mansueto Lingatong, resident of Barrio Puntod, Bacuag, Surigao Norte.

The PCHR report is also concerned about the activities of religious groups such as the "Tadtads" in Misamis Occidental and the "White Angels" of the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association in Dinagat Island, Surigao Norte.

Reports indicate that these groups have been armed by the military for counter-

insurgency operations. In Jimenez, Misamis Occidental, 14 out of 17 members of the Integrated Civilian Home Defence Force (ICHDF) are said to be members of the dreaded "Tadtad." Tadtad is known for their practice of butchering the bodies of their victims.

Another paramilitary group, known as the Lost Command headed by a certain Col. Carlos Lademora, operates in Agusan del Sur. It was found out that some members of the Lost Command were integrated into the ICHDF following the appointment of Col. Lademora as regional ICHDF commander.

The Lost Command is an irregular unit of deserters from the military and notoriously known for the numerous atrocities and killings in Agusan.

Sister Mariani Dimaranan, CFIC, and Chairman of the Task Force Detainees (TFD), said that human rights violations in the country has become "worst than ever."

She added that an increase in killings, massacres, and abuses have been reported in the South. In 1984 alone, six massacres were reported in less than two months.

She attributed the dramatic rise in violations to the increased militarization efforts in Mindanao.

"Cases of human rights violations are rampant in areas rich in natural resources and that is where the military is used to protect the economic interests of companies and other multi-national corporations in Mindanao," the former *detainee* emphasized.

The concluded Batasan election was also cited as one of the reasons for the intensified military drive in the "Land of Promise."

A related incident, has been reported from the labor sector. Lourdes Manuba, a 35-year-old mother of four and wife of a laborer reportedly picked up at her Marikina home by four armed men two weeks ago.

The men allegedly forced Manuba inside a car and then was taken blindfolded to a room where she was detained for four days. There, she was reportedly questioned on the whereabouts of her husband, a worker and an active unionist at the Holland Milk Products plant which is now on strike.

Manuba was released after her four-day captivity but now appears badly shaken and has lapses of amnesia. **MM**

23 MAY OPPOSITION UNITY MEETING REPORTED, ANALYZED

Makati MR&MS. in English 1 Jun 84 pp 32, 33

[Article by Michael Purugganan: "Opposition Moves for One-Party-for all Policy"]

[Text] Of the proclaimed assemblymen (as of May 29), 47 are listed as UNIDO, while six gave their affiliation as PDP-LABAN, two as Cebu's Panagh-iusa, one from the Mindanao Alliance (MA) and three from the Concerned Citizen's Aggrupation (CCA).

Forcing this motley group to close ranks will be difficult, to say the least. Even UNIDO itself is not that tightly knit--the notice of coalition it filed with the Commission on Elections last March 26 listed 13 political parties under its umbrella, at least five of which are regional groupings. And during the election campaign, some of these parties, like the MA and PDP-LABAN, struck out on their own in some areas after clashes between leaders from these parties and the UNIDO.

Still, most Opposition leaders concede that unity within the Opposition is vital if they are to remain a significant force in the political scene. "We should speak with one voice, or we would become irrelevant," noted assemblyman-elect Aquilino Pimentel, acting chairman of PDP-LABAN.

Last May 23, several Opposition parties who managed to win Batasan representation took the first tentative steps in that direction. In a private meeting at the Club Filipino, UNIDO president Salvarod Laurel sat with Pimentel, Misamis Oriental Gov Homobono Adaza, head of the influential MA, and Zamboanga City Mayor Cesar Climaco, who leads the CCA, and discussed the formation of a single, unified Opposition party.

"We are planning to form one political party for the Opposition," confirmed Adaza, who was proclaimed Misamis Oriental assemblyman. "There is an effort to do that."

The move is to transform UNIDO from a coalition of different parties to a single entity, and, as far as Laurel is concerned, only the details have to be ironed out. "It's just a question now of deciding the mechanism of the conversion of UNIDO into a political party," says Doy Laurel. "UNIDO is composed of about 15 political parties, so how to convert it into a single political party will involve a lot of steps."

At present, the details are still sketchy, although many Opposition figures are hopeful. "I don't foresee any difficulty in working together within the Batasan, despite our petty differences and even conflicting ambitions," remarked Pimentel.

Laurel agrees. "I do not see any major problems regarding unification. I believe there was a clear consensus (at the UNIDO caucus) for total unification among all parties seeking to dismantle the dictatorship and restore freedom and democracy."

The UNIDO leader notes that he has yet to meet any resistance to the proposal. "The prospects are very bright for the conversion into a single political party, because everybody's for it," Laurel observes. "I have not met anybody who is against it. Pimentel is for it, Adaza is for it, the Liberal Party is for it, the Nacionalistas are for it."

The formal moves to consolidate the Opposition were embodied in a resolution sponsored by assemblymen-elect Edmundo Cea, Neptali Gonzales, and Lito Puyat and presented at the May 29 UNIDO caucus. The resolution which was passed unanimously called for the creation of a special committee to propose the best means by which unity among the various Opposition forces could be achieved. The matter was also up for further discussion in (and more complete). Opposition meeting scheduled for June 12 which will draw not only UNIDO-elected assemblymen, but all non-KBL elements as well.

Still, several oppositionists were not all that eager to blindly jump into the unity bandwagon, and point out that several conditions have to be agreed upon. "I am willing to participate in the party if we are to agree on a single program of government and if the president of the party will not run in 1987," emphasizes Adaza of the MA. To many, the second condition is important. The president of a unified Opposition party who is planning to run in 1987, he said, may have "undue advantage," and edge out other Opposition hopefuls.

The idea of one-party-for-all will have to gain the approval of the leaders and members of the respective political parties under the UNIDO umbrella. "They will, of course, have to clear this with their respective leadership, because they have their own hierarchies," says Laurel. And getting a consensus from 13 or so different hierarchies who are looking out for themselves will not be easy.

And while most Opposition leaders are optimistic, their past record leaves ample room for doubt. Moves to forge Opposition unity have been hindered by lack of agreement on Opposition policy, different political outlooks, and by personal clashes among oppositionists as they try to jockey their way up.

The newly-elected Opposition minority within the Batasan may also be weakened by disputes between the more traditional politicians like Eva Estrada-Kalaw, and Jose Laurel, and the younger, more activist ideologues like Adaza, Bobbit Sanchez and Orly Mercado.



But with less than 40 percent of the legislative assembly under Opposition control, the UNIDO and their allies cannot afford to remain embroiled in intramural bickerings. Political observers agree that dissension within Opposition ranks will only play into the hands of President Marcos and the better-disciplined KBL party. Indeed, Marcos repeatedly pointed out the disunity of the Opposition during the election campaign in a bid to win votes for the KBL, and a fragmented Opposition will make his job a lot easier.

Political leaders within UNIDO, however, recognize the danger, but brush it aside. "Marcos wants to divide and conquer but he will fail," remarks Laurel confidently. "He may be smart, but we're not stupid."

Even if the parliamentary Opposition does unify, however, a major stumbling block remains--the boycott movement. The issue of whether to participate or to boycott the Batasang Pambansa polls wrecked whatever tenuous unity the Opposition had in the aftermath of the assassination of Sen Benigno Aquino, Jr last year. Influential oppositionists like Sen Jose Diokno and Sen Lorenzo Tanada argued for a boycott, and the Liberal Party openly split into two factions over the issue, with the participationists rallying to Kalaw while party stalwarts Jovito Salonga and former Pres Diosdado Macapagal staying away from the elections.

UNIDO leaders agree that there must be cooperation between the two groups. "You know, the boycott people are also Opposition people," says Sen Mamintal Tamano, UNIDO veep for Mindanao. "The doors of UNIDO are open to the boycotters who want to join us and play an active role in fiscalizing the Administration of Marcos." The UNIDO has reportedly sent letters to Sen Diokno and Sen Tanada recently, asking for their support, and announced an 'open-door policy' to oppositionists who want to join.

Earlier, however, Diokno already stated his case. Whether the parliamentary Opposition and the cause-oriented oppositionists who led the boycott campaign will come together depends on certain things. "Certainly, as long as there is an agreement on certain basic principles, there is no reason why there should not be unity in the Opposition," says Diokno. But, he reiterates, "As long as there is agreement on certain basic principles."

Whether the Opposition will finally end their perennial squabbling and be able to work together effectively remains to be seen. As Diokno said, "Only time will tell."

CSO: 4200/846



BIGORNIA ON KIRKPATRICK STATEMENT, SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 2 Jun 84 pp 6, 10

[Commentary by Jesus Bigornia: "Kirkpatrick Statement Significant"]

[Text] MISFORTUNES, they say, come in pairs. First to afflict the Philippines since the parliamentary election is the International Monetary Fund's pussy-footing on a Philippine application for an \$1.65-billion standby credit line. Feedback indicates the crucial bank borrowing now being arranged for the Philippines with some 400 creditor banks might be substantially reduced and released in dribbles. Which means there will be less dollars with which to buy oil, machinery and parts, and raw materials for Philippine industries. The ripple effect would take the form of increasingly higher costs of consumer commodities and services. In short, the long-hoped for light at the end of the tunnel of economic difficulties is not yet in sight.

Now comes Ms. Jean Kirkpatrick, United States ambassador to the United Nations, telling Filipinos that America is ready to pull up stakes here--remove America's military presence in the Philippines at Clark Air Force Base and at the Subic naval facility--if that is what the Filipinos want. The Kirkpatrick statement is the first ever official American admission of willingness to pull out from the Philippines. Heretofore, American officialdom has always underlined the importance of the Philippines to United States' strategic defense preparations. Washington may have misread the poll victories of the opposition as a resurgence of anti-American sentiment.

Local pundits, eager to dismiss the Kirkpatrick statement as coming from a visiting fireman and, therefore, not reflecting official Washington thinking, should consider the relationship between the visitor and President Reagan. The knowledgeable are often amazed by the parallelism of foreign policy views of the American president and his lady envoy. Both are unreconstructed conservatives, and hawkish. So when Ms. Kirkpatrick lays down a policy line such as that she spelled out during a recent conference with the press here, it must be taken as reflecting the unstated stand of President Reagan.

Washington might have fallen into the error of thinking that it can afford to rap the Philippines across the knuckles for what Americans may perceive as a renaissance of rabid nationalism. They see a few demonstrators before the US Embassy in Manila and conclude the Filipinos have become anti-Americans. What

is hidden from their view is a nation of 40 or so people [figure as published] caught in the grip of economic difficulties, seeking aid from friends and getting too little and perhaps too late.

Speculation on the next chief justice of the Supreme Court hit the High Tribunal when President Marcos laid down a policy of "deep selection" in future appointments and promotions in the civil and military services of the government. In his impromptu response to acknowledgment of gratitude by Associate Justice Serafin Cuevas for his elevation to the Supreme Court, the President said: "Seniority and length of service will have to give way to integrity, competence and dedication." The President's remarks obviously were intended to rebut criticism touched off by the Cuevas appointment. Justice Cuevas was No. 8 in the seniority list of the Intermediate Appellate Court when elevated to the Supreme Court.

Well taken as the President's line was reasoning might have been, it was taken by those present at the oath-taking ceremony as the "kiss of death" for senior Associate Justice Claudio Teehankee's hopes to succeed Chief Justice Enrique Fernando as head of the High Tribunal. Chief Justice Fernando is due to retire from the government service in July 1985. Although he is the most senior member of the High Tribunal, Justice Teehankee had on numerous occasions taken a stand opposed to the President's policies and those of his administration. The Marcos remark is interpreted in bench circles as laying the basis for a possible "deep selection" in the replacement of the chief justice.

The presidential statement has provoked bar and bench circles to agitate for a review of questionable appointments and promotions in the judiciary. As an apolitical legal luminary points out, the legal profession, along with almost every sector of Philippine society--studentry, teachers, bureaucrats, businessmen, industrialists and the clergy--as a grievance against the administration, judging, he adds, from the result of the recent parliamentary election. Many of such grievances are attributable to external factors and, therefore, beyond the power of the President to overcome, it is conceded. But, there are any number of such complaints that are within his power to solve or minimize to a tolerable minimum acceptable to the civic conscience.

Among the chief grievances traceable to bar and bench is the appointment and promotion of officers unfit for the bench and, lately, the reappointment of members of the judiciary who had been "retired" under the latest reorganization. This is one complaint that is well within the power of the President to solve since he is the appointing authority. It may not be too late for the President to recall these controversial re-appointments. There is already a precedent in the recall of the appointment of a Metropolitan Manila city court judge. Derelicts on the bench should be weeded out as soon as possible, it is urged.

CSO: 4200/848

SUPREME COURT ISSUES 'LIBERAL' RULING ON CAMPUS DEMONSTRATIONS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 2 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by Apolonio Batalla: "Campus Demonstrations"]

[Text] THE Supreme Court has enunciated a policy of liberality on campus demonstrations while issuing the reminder that a line should be drawn between disorderly and seditious conduct.

The message is found in the decision, written by Chief Justice Enrique M. Fernando, that disposed of a petition brought by some student leaders against an official of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports and the authorities of the Gregorio Araneta University Foundation.

In 1982 the officers of the Supreme Student Council asked for a permit to hold a meeting at a certain place in the campus from 8 a.m. to 12 noon. The students were protesting the proposed merger of two institutes.

Instead of holding the meeting at the stipulated place, the students held it elsewhere in the campus the whole day, and using bullhorns, disrupted the classes and the work of the campus personnel.

The university authorities meted out a one-year suspension for the officers of the council for violation of the rules. The decision was upheld by the Regional Director of the ministry.

The students challenged the validity of the action taken by the officials. In the Supreme Court, they invoked the right to peaceable assembly and the right to free speech.

In deciding that issue, the Supreme Court adopted the doctrine enunciated by the US Supreme Court in the case of Tinker vs. Des Moines Community School District to the effect that while students do not shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech and expression at the schoolhouse gate, conduct which materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others is not immunized by the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech.

While the Supreme Court found disciplinary action justified, it expressed the view that the penalty was too severe. The Chief Justice wrote that while the discretion of the authorities was recognized, "the rule of reason, the dictate of fairness, calls for a much lesser penalty."

"If the concept of proportionality between the offense committed and the sanction imposed is not followed," wrote the Chief Justice, "an element of arbitrariness intrudes. That would give rise to a due process question. To avoid this constitutional objection, it is the holding of this Court that a one-week suspension would be punishment enough."

The court lay down the principles governing campus demonstrations.

The decision states: "The rights of peaceable assembly and free speech are guaranteed students of educational institutions. Necessarily, their exercise to discuss matters affecting their welfare or involving public interest is not to be subjected to previous restraint or subsequent punishment unless there be a showing of a clear and present danger of a substantial evil that the state has a right to prevent. As a corollary, the utmost leeway and scope is accorded the content of the placards displayed or utterances made. The peaceable character of an assembly could be lost, however, by an advocacy of disorder under the name of dissent, whatever grievances that may be aired being susceptible to correction through the ways of the law. If the assembly is to be held in school premises, permit must be sought from its school authorities, who are devoid of the power to deny such request arbitrarily or unreasonably. In granting such permit, there may be conditions as to the time and place of the assembly to avoid disrupting classes or stoppage of work of the non-academic personnel. Even if, however, there be violations of its terms, the penalty incurred should not be disproportionate to the offense."

The court issued the reminder on drawing the line between disorderly and seditious conduct because the university authorities told the court the rally had a subversive character.

The court said a careful reading of the 1907 decision in *US vs. Apurado* was in order before university authorities attached a subversive character to the rally.

CSO: 4200/848

NASUTRA NONPAYMENT WORRIES SUGAR INDUSTRY FIGURES

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 4 Jun 84 p 8

[Article by Edgar Cadagat]

[Text] BACOLOD CITY--Prominent sugar industry figures identified with the anti-PHILSUCOM-NASUTRA opposition disclosed in a meeting, May 28, that the trading agency has not made any shipment for the last two and a half months since the whole month of March, middle of April and the first three weeks of May, resulting in its inability to raise enough funds to comply with payments to planters under the four-year contract.

Guillermo Araneta, Vice-President of the Ma-ao Sugar Central, also advanced the view that the NASUTRA started shipping sugar last week of May in anticipation of an impending devaluation which could immensely raise the value of its exported sugar when computed on the peso-dollar rate of exchange.

Araneta who was conferring with officials of the New Alliance of Sugar Producers (NASP), on the present situation in the industry, also disclosed that the funds utilized by NASUTRA for liquidating sugar came from its sale of domestic sugar.

Other sources had informed the VH that NASUTRA's liquidity had suffered as a result of its inability to borrow from foreign creditors as it is also affected by the freeze on loans imposed by the IMF-WB.

"The moment they have money, they will buy all of the sugar available from planters," he emphasized.

The NASUTRA has still to comply with its commitment under the four-year-contract if negotiated with buyers abroad.

NASP officials led by its President--Chairman of the Board, Hortensia Starke and Corazon Zayco, Treasurer, indicated also their resolve to push through with plans to organize a trading agency once the four-year contract ends and the so-called free trading becomes operative enter August 31, 1984.

Implementation of planters' demand for free trading was freeze under PD 1918 to give planters time to readjust from NASUTRA's rigid control, into one where they have to market their sugar on their own.

Another cause of worry for planters was the prospect of the unavailability of crop loans for the 1984-85 crop-year as the PNB and the RPB are in no position to grant loans because funds have dried up.

Araneta also informed those around that in view of this, there is now a move to merge that different commercial banks to firm up their financial position and not to dissipate resources.

Speculations also cropped up of PHILSUCOM chairman Roberto S. Benedicto's replacement by PNB's Placido Mapa.

Planters gathering in Negros are wrapped in a pall of gloom over prospects of more hardships for the industry.

Almost invariably, to a man planters blamed Benedicto and the PHILSUCOM for the plight of the sugar industry.

No amount of press releases and publicity in retained or controlled media facilities, has lessened planters' condemnation of Benedicto. He is even blamed for the seeming advance of the NPA in Negros Island.

CSO: 4200/848



CEBU EDITORIAL SUPPORTS CALLS FOR COALITION GOVERNMENT

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 3 Jun 84 p 3

[Editorial: "A Coalition Government"]

[Text] The political opposition has time and again suggested that it is ready to cooperate with Mr. Marcos in running the affairs of state to stave off national chaos through a coalition government. Although the details have not been clearly spelled out, but an opposition stalwart from Iloilo City let the cat out of the bag by proposing that the participation of the opposition can be in the form of membership in the cabinet.

While this could be regarded as an intrusion into the administration prerogatives, the idea might well be worth considering in the spirit of reconciliation and national unity on which the presidential intention has so far been only in the area of rhetorics. In short, the acceptance of the proposal will prove the sincerity of the President.

The idea is not new. Political history provides a rich source of background. As stated by former Sen. Rodolfo Canzon of Iloilo, even the U.S. government of Pres. Reagan and Kennedy have been membered by cabinet men from the opposite political camp. Coalition governments have been set up in other democracies of the world.

One good point that can be served in a coalition government, even a token one with the acceptance of 4 or 5 opposition men in the cabinet, is that it will draw the best talents from the opposite fence of the political struggle which now rages in this country. It will prove that the people who are "out" are in, and thus attract them in the effort toward non-partisanship in achieving the goals of national oneness.

CSO: 4200/848



COLUMNIST SUPPORTS WORKERS IN CEBU STRIKE

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 1 Jun 84 p 3

[Commentary by Ernie Areenas in the 'Just a Minute' column: "Facts and Observations"]

[Text] In a front page photo of the VISAYAN HERALD yesterday there appeared a photo of ALU-VIMCONTU officials explaining their side to media representatives in the current labor dispute at the Visayan Glass Factory in Guadalupe, this city.

An assemblyman represented labor to the Batasang Pambansa, his two sons and the labor representative to the City's Sanggun'an were shown in that photo. The President of the union, the biggest in the Visayas and Mindanao, had some of his sons appointed as officials of the union. Looks like its is a family union.

Wenceslao Badayos, vice president of Alyansa sa mga Mamunuo (AMA-Sugbo), cannot be contacted for interview at the picket lines. Followers said he is in hiding as some unidentified men are out to get his neck. It looks like the fight is between the laborer and the labor union.

Management of Visayan Glass says their position in the controversy is "lamentable" If they allow Badayos to return to work, ALU will sue them. If Badayos is not reinstated, the picket continues causing a lot of sleepless nights and losses to the company amounting to hundreds of thousands of pesos. Looks like the company is between the devil and the deep blue sea.

The military riot control unit broke the picket lines yesterday to allow the entrance of bunker fuel and food to the garrisoned workers still working inside. With the presence of the military, looks like the picketers are losing the fight for their just cause.

Visayan Glass workers are afraid to picket the ALU-VIMCONTU offices at Pier 1. The workers versus the pier goons, that would be a mismatch.

To join organizations is a basic right guaranteed by the Constitution. Looks like ALU does not know this Constitutional right exists.

TASK FORCE DETAINEE MEMBER ON 'SALVAGING' OPERATIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Jun 84 p 11

[Article by R. D. Paringaux]

[Text] How can the war in the Philippines be ended? One might imagine a policy of development and reduction of social tensions. "Salvaging" is another matter. It consists in "saving" the evil-thinkers--real, virtual or supposed--by cutting straight to the heart of the matter.

Manila-- "They have made a word of brotherly love into a synonym for mortal terror. A revealing perversion: today, no one can misunderstand any longer: when one speaks of 'salvage operations' (salvaging) carried out by the army or by paramilitary groups, one must understand kidnapping, disappearance and often liquidation."

The little nun, with her gray coil and sad face, is right, so very right: in the Philippines, "salvaging" is no longer the friendly hand which snatches one from misfortune or danger; it is the armed hand which rescues one, in a brutal way, from the temptations of "subversion." In this area, and against a single backdrop of dictatorship and communist guerrilla warfare, they "operate" here by the murderous methods of the Latin American model. There is no dearth of examples, or of widows and orphans, either: mothers, sisters and spouses, by the hundreds--like the Argentinians of the Plaza de Mayo--marched to Manila last October, each displaying a poster with the name of someone who has disappeared.

Sister M., an emaciated 50-year-old, kind and energetic, pushes a large mug of coffee across the table, along with some bread and peanut butter. In the shadows of the parlor, religious pictures and a large portrait of John Paul II rustle in the breeze from a fan--but they could well, at this time, be shivering with horror.

Discreet and precise, Sister M. describes some examples of "salvaging" of which she has direct knowledge in her capacity as a member of the organization Task Force Detainees.\*

In this haven of religious peace, she evokes the victims from a reality which has become mortally commonplace in the context of political violence, and of civil war, which is rending and bloodying the archipelago. The case which most shook public opinion during the spring electoral campaign is that of four provincial students whose mutilated bodies were discovered nearly a month after they had disappeared. Members of the Left, they had left their homes at the beginning of March to go to the capital to take part in a huge demonstration by the opposition. They were seized and taken away while walking around Manila.

#### Burned Alive

At the end of March, a villager from Cavite Province (south of Manila) saw his dog come home with a human foot in its mouth. He called the police, and the animal soon helped them to locate the bodies, which had been hastily burned in a field. "I was at the cemetery with the families while the mutilated bodies were being reconstructed," said Sister M. "They would hold up pieces, demanding of the parents if they recognized them. The people were sobbing with grief. I have seen many horrible things, but never anything as unbearable as this." As in many more or less similar cases, an inquiry was officially opened, but no one believes that it will amount to anything--"at least under the Marcos regime."

"Another case in point," the nun went on, "is that of Borroneo Rocas. He was a young official from the agrarian reform agency, who had the particular talent of knowing how to apply the law and how to distribute the lands to the peasants. This brought down on him the hatred of the big local landowners, who have close ties with the military. On 6 November 1983, in the middle of the night, Rocas's village was awakened by screams coming from his house.

"A cordon of police and paramilitary groups in the pay of the landowners had surrounded the area. A neighbor who approached to help was beaten. Soon they set fire to the house, and Borroneo Rocas, his wife and their four children were burned alive."

After a silence, Sister M. added, "There has been no inquiry. Officially it was done by the communists. However the entire village knows who was involved. I went there. The villagers told me under an oath of secrecy: for them to bear witness in court would be to sign their death warrants."

A third "typical" case is that of seven peasants from the Tungao area (Agusan Province), who disappeared last April. "The villagers have repeatedly asked for information from a small military post nearby," said Sister M. "Since they

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\* Task Force Detainees, which works with Amnesty International, is concerned mainly with political prisoners and human rights violations. The organization has 45 representatives throughout the country.

received no reply, the post soldiers were put on notice--doubtless by the communist guerrilla fighters--to produce explanations as soon as possible. They left the same day. The beheaded bodies of those who had disappeared were found on the post premises. This kind of 'salvaging' has been dubbed 'operation Tad-Tad' (chop-chop, in the vernacular). Entire families have been massacred as an example.

"In 1981," Sister M. continued, "when martial law was officially lifted, we expected an improvement in the situation. Alas, it only grew worse. That year there were several massacres, one of them in the cathedral at Davao, Mindanao. In 1982, again at Mindanao, the authorities imposed a policy of strategic villages here and there, regrouping the villagers in camps. What with the failure of development and the extension of the guerrilla war, the 'salvaging' operations have increased, as well as the brutality of the armed forces."

The figures given by Sister M. in support of her statements are, according to her, "very moderate." Actually, certain regions are inaccessible and, often, the parents of victims too terrorized to speak up. In 1983 her organization listed more than 400 "salvage operations" resulting in death and more than 100 disappearances. This figure includes "17 massacres perpetrated between July and December by the military and the police, with 5 to 20 victims in each case." In just a few years, "salvaging" has been responsible for more than 1,200 deaths.

#### "Pacification"

"Pacification" is practiced chiefly on the large southern island of Mindanao, a mosaic of underdevelopment and overexploitation, rebellion (Moslen, communist) and gangsterism. These particular "liquidations" are adding to the thousands of victims (dead, injured, women raped, houses pillaged or burned, lands confiscated, displaced persons, arrests, tortures, etc.) counted each year in regions where the people are caught in the crossfire of armed and arbitrary violence.

The military authorities and the police systematically accuse the communists of these crimes. However, on the one hand, the persons apprehended by the forces of law and order are most often themselves suspected of procommunist sympathies. On the other hand, the abuses committed under the pretext of "pacification" have now become endemic--and criticism from the Catholic hierarchy, at this point, specific--so that army authorities have had to announce sanctions on several occasions.

The communist guerrilla fighters no longer hesitate to carry out executions. However, unlike the "liquidations" practiced indiscriminately by their adversaries, they avoid attacking the people, and go after, especially, the administrative, police and military cadres of the regime reputed to be the most brutal and corrupt--which gives them a sort of "Robin Hood" image in areas where the people have to suffer either insufficient government assistance or the excesses of its "pacification" program.

In the Philippines, as in other underdeveloped and overexploited countries, the advance of communism (at least under the present state of affairs) is better nourished by local poverty, violence and social injustice than by the schemings of international Marxism. Aren't Peking and Moscow getting a lot of attention from Mr Marcos? One might doubt the efficiency of a strategy which acts--in an atrocious manner--on the results without penetrating to the cause, without wondering, basically, why and how a good Catholic peasant, naturally respectful of the government and completely ignorant of Marxism, comes, through despair, to espouse the communist cause.

Like the American Phoenix program in South Vietnam, due allowance being made, it appears that the more people one liquidates, the more people there are to liquidate every year among a population one is trying to "pacify." That is the terrible logic into which the Philippines is slipping. It furnishes cheap martyrs to the revolution and makes the communists appear to be the defender of widows and orphans against those who carry out the dirty work of a government whose hands are covered with blood.

8735

CSO: 4219/49

## BRIEFS

HOME DEFENSE FORCE 'VITAL'--COTABATO CITY--Regional Unified Command (RUC) 12 chief Brig. Gen. Cesar F. Tapia underscored recently the vital role of home defense forces in the development and security of the barangay. During the change of command of the 3rd home defense force battalion in simple rites at the camp Brig. Gen. Gonzalo Siongco at Awang, Dinaig, Maguindanao, Tapia in his speech, noted that never has the barangay enjoyed more protection than today with the organization of the home defense forces which serve as village defenders. This can be attributed to continuous training programs initiated by the home defense force groups assigned in areas where there are noted threats of anti-government forces, Tapia said. Tapia commended the outgoing battalion commander Maj. Danilo F. Sebastian whom he presented with an interim military merit medal for successfully accomplishing his mission. Capt. Jose Gamos took over from Sebastian. Commendations were also presented to members of the home defense force group airborne unit. [Text] Davao City THE MINDANAO DAILY MIRROR in English 2 Jun 84 p 4]

NPA 'TAX COLLECTORS' KILLED--CAMP EVANGELISTA, Misamis Oriental Four suspected tax collectors' of the New People's Army (NPA) were hacked to death Thursday by their irate victims in barangay Bad-as, Placer, Surigao del Norte. Brig. Gen. Servando Lara, commander of the second brigade, fourth infantry division here, said the victims' identities were not immediately known. A report to Regional Unified Command X under Brig. Gen. Patrinio Munoz, said Lara had ordered the victims' bodies brought to the Placer town hall so they could be identified by relatives. Lara said that the Badas folk fought the NPAs after remitting to them for two years a quarter of their farm produce and a monthly assessment of ₱5 per family and ₱1 for each of their members. Lara said that Bad-as, a remote village some 30 kilometers south of Surigao City, has been a sanctuary of guerrillas for the past two years. Shortly after the May 14 elections, the insurgents routed government troops in an ambush in Bad-as, killing 12 soldiers including two officers. They took the soldiers firearms. [Text] [Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 2 Jun 84 pp 1, 10]

ELECTION RESULTS PROTESTED--Since May 14, the COMELEC in Intramuros, Manila has been besieged by protesters from all over the country demanding electoral justice. But none drew as much curiosity and empathy as the Kalingas and Apayaos who came down to the city to deliver personally their urgent message to Chairman Vicente Santiago: Nullify the results in Kalinga and Apayao province! The 72 highlanders, all draped in tribal finery, journeyed for 16 hours in a bus to escort Dr Roy Bargas, the independent candidate for the Batasan who ran against David Puzon (KBL). Among Bargas' charges were fraud and terrorism, specifically the intimidation by goons and bodyguards and the snatching of ballot boxes and tampering of returns by the rival party. Bargas claimed that Puzon, a former congressman of Cagayan province, is not a resident of Kalinga Apayao and had no business seeking its representation in the National Assembly. Between impassioned speeches, the Kalingas put down their placards and staged impromptu performances on the streets to the beat of the highland's ancient gongs.--CMO [Text] [Makati MR&MS. in English No 37 1 Jun 84 p 40]

CSO: 4200/846



## THAILAND

### FEBRUARY 84 POLL ON PARTIES, POLITICIANS PUBLISHED

Bangkok PATINYA in Thai 28 May 84 pp 12-15

[Article by Sirimana Sattamai: "Results of the Poll on Political Parties and MPs: The Political Parties and the MPs--Waiting to Die?"]

[Excerpt] During the period 3-14 February 1984, the research team of Dr Somchai Rakwichit conducted a poll among students and other people on various matters, including the matter of the political parties and MPs. PATINYA is publishing the results of this poll in order to determine whether the views of the students and people have changed.

#### The Political Parties: Their Image Is Still Very Poor

In conducting this poll, the research team randomly sampled students from four institutions and people from every region. A total of 1,115 students and people were sampled. The researchers used the same questions and response choices used in previous polls. That is, concerning the political parties, the researchers asked the respondents: "In your opinion, which of the two following views on the political parties in Thailand is closest to the truth":

A. In general, the political parties in Thailand are composed of good people with ideals who have joined together to become MPs or ministers in order to have a chance to serve the people and solve the problems of poverty and injustice for the well-being of the people and the growth of the country.

B. In general, the political parties in Thailand are the representatives of large interest groups such as the textile and soft-drink industries, liquor and beer distilleries, timber and ore smugglers, gamblers, local influential people and finance companies and banks, which help them establish political parties so that they can become MPs and ministers and form the government in order to protect their interests or make profits for themselves and their cronies and to increase their influence.

As for the results of the poll, 11.6 percent of the students (see Table 1) felt that in general, the political parties are composed of good people with ideals who have joined together in order to have a chance to serve

the people and solve the country's problems (Choice A); 88.4 percent of the students felt that in general, the political parties are the representatives of large influential groups and that they have formed political parties in order to protect their interests or make profits for themselves and their cronies (Choice B).

As for the people (see Table 2), 26.8 percent felt that Choice "A" was closest to the truth; 71.1 percent felt that Choice "B" was closest to the truth.

This shows that the majority of the students and people do not respect or trust the political parties since they feel that the political parties are just interest groups. Comparing these results to those of the poll conducted by the research team of Dr. Somchai Rakwichit during September 1982, in which a total of 1,204 students from four institutions and people from every region were randomly sampled, it can be said that the results are quite similar. That is, in that poll, 9 percent of the students chose "A" while 71 percent chose "B."

As for the people, (in the 1982 poll), only 15.1 percent chose "A" while 84.9 percent chose "B."

#### MPs: They Must Still Improve Themselves

As for the views of the students and people concerning the MPs, in the latest poll conducted by the research team of Dr. Somchai Rakwichit, the researchers asked the respondents: "In your view, in general, what is the quality of the elected MPs like?" The respondents were asked to select the one response choice that was most in accord with their view. The five possible choices were:

A. Very Bad; B. Bad; C. Fair; D. Good; E. Very Good

Following that, the researchers asked the respondents to explain why they held that view.

As for the results of the poll, which provided a "general image of the quality of the elected MPs," 1.8 percent of the students felt that the elected MPs were "very bad"; 21.8 percent felt that they were "bad"; 71.2 percent felt that they were "fair"; and 5.4 percent felt that they were "good." None of the students selected choice "E," which means that none of the students felt that the quality of the MPs was "very good."

As for the people, 3.4 percent felt that the quality of the elected MPs was "very bad"; 7.7 percent felt that they were "bad"; 78.8 percent felt that they were "fair"; 10.8 percent felt that they were "good"; and 1.1 percent felt that they were "very good."

As for why the respondents held these views, the responses of the students and people were quite similar. That is, these respondents who felt

that the quality of the MPs was generally "bad-very bad" said that the MPs did not have definite ideals and that they did not have the necessary knowledge and capabilities. They had been elected MP because of their influence and financial power and because of the bribes paid and the tricks used. And after they became MPs, they used their power to make profits for themselves and their cronies. They have lied and cheated and not made any attempt to fulfill the promises made to the people. And they have no sense of responsibility toward their duties. Some are members of evil influential groups, and they are involved in various vices such as gambling. They play favorites and fight among themselves in a struggle for power and profits. For example, they fight for political positions.

As for the students and people who felt that the quality of the MPs was generally "fair," they said that there were both good and bad MPs. Some of the MPs have ideals, knowledge and capabilities, they have a sense of responsibility toward their duties and they are very efficient in performing their tasks. But other MPs lack ideals, knowledge and capabilities, and they do not have a sense of responsibility toward their duties. They become MPs in the hope of becoming rich, and they were elected through election fraud. Besides that, Thailand is not a real democracy, and the people do not yet understand their political rights. Thus, they are incapable of electing good people to serve as their representatives. Concerning the qualifications, behavior and actions of the MPs, in general their quality overall is just "fair."

As for the respondents who felt that the MPs are generally "good-very good," they said that most of the MPs are good people with ideals. They are honest, they have knowledge and capabilities and they have a lofty sense of responsibility toward their duties. Also, they have acted in accord with the promises made to the people. Because the people have more education [than before], they have elected better MPs than before.

However, concerning the quality of the MPs, it can be said that most of the students and people felt that the MPs were generally "fair." When these results were compared to those obtained in the poll conducted the research team of Dr Somchai Rakwichit in September 1982, it was found that most of the students and people felt that the MPs still need to improve their quality much more. Because concerning the results of the 1982 poll, 5.8 percent of the students felt that the quality of the elected MPs was "very bad"; 35.5 percent felt that they were "bad"; 52.5 percent felt that they were "fair"; 6.3 percent felt that they were "good"; and 0.2 percent felt that they were "very good."

As for the people, [in the 1982 poll], 4.5 percent felt that the quality of the elected officials was "very bad"; 31.9 percent felt that they were "bad"; 51.9 percent felt that they were "fair"; 10.7 percent felt that that they were "good"; and 1.0 percent felt that they were "very good."

As for the reasons for holding these views, most of the reasons mentioned to the researchers were quite similar to those mentioned during the February [1984] poll. But something worth noting is that the percentage of students and people who felt that the quality of the elected officials was in the "bad-very bad" category dropped while the percentage of those who felt that the quality of the MPs was generally "fair" increased greatly. As for the percentage of respondents who felt that the MPs were generally "good" or "very good," the figures changed very little.

It can be seen that even though the percentage of those who felt that the MPs were "bad" or "very bad" declined, the percentage of those who felt that the MPs were "good" or "very good" hardly increased at all. The great majority of the students and people still feel that the quality of the MPs is just "fair." Thus, the MPs must strive to develop themselves continually to the point that most students and people feel that the quality of the MPs is in the "good-very good" category.

#### Political Parties and MPs: Waiting to Die?

In the past, the image of the political parties and MPs in the eyes of the people has always been very poor. This is an important reason that the dictators, both left-wing and right-wing, have used as an excuse to topple the government and the democratic form of administration. This is the reason why Thai democracy has barely managed to survive and not been able to develop into a real and secure democracy. This is because when people don't have faith in the political parties and MPs, when the political parties and MPs have a chance to form the government, the government won't receive support from the majority of the people. And what happens then is that the government lacks stability and security. And thus, the government cannot solve the country's problems and is easily toppled.

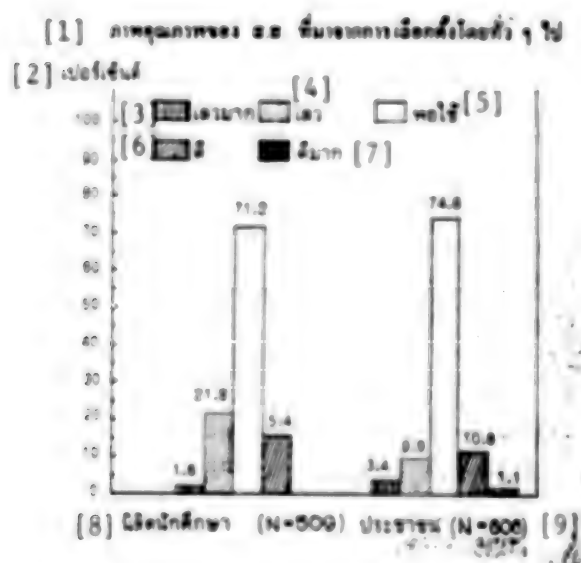
Thus, unless the political parties and MPs quickly take steps to improve their quality in a resolute and continuous manner in order to gain the trust of the people and get the majority of the people to serve as a base of support in the struggle against the dictators, both left-wing and right-wing, the political parties and MPs are just waiting to die. That is, unless they do this, they are simply waiting to be destroyed by the leftist and rightist dictators.

Table 1: Views of Students on the Political Parties (percent)

Choice	Total N=509	Sex	
		Women N=252	Men N=257
A	11.6	10.7	12.5
B	88.4	89.3	87.5
Total	100	100	100

Table 2: Views of the People on the Political Parties (percent)

Choice	Total N=606	Sex	
		Women N=253	Men N=353
A	26.9	28.1	26.1
B	73.1	71.9	73.9
Total	100	100	100



Key to chart:

- (1) General picture of the quality of elected MPs  
 (2) Percent (3) very bad (4) bad  
 (5) fair (6) good (7) very good  
 (8) Students (N=509) (9) People (N=606)

11943

CSD: 4207/159

OPINION POLL ON ECONOMIC ISSUES ANALYZED

Bangkok PATINYA 15 Thai 4 Jun 84 pp 17-19

[Article by Sirimasa Sattamai: "Opinion Poll On Economic Problems: Why Is the Economy In such Bad shape"]

[Excerpts] During September 1982, the research team conducted a poll by taking a random sample of students from four institutions and people from every region. The total sample included 1,264 people. The researchers used the direct interview method. They presented two opposing views and had the respondents choose the one that they agreed with the most:

A. Concerning the poverty and suffering and the economic decline in Thailand, part of this stems from the economic turmoil in the world. But the major problem is that the government lacks stability and is insincere. It is more concerned about its own profits and its survival than it is about the interests of the people as a whole.

B. The poverty and suffering and the economic decline in Thailand stem mainly from the economic turmoil in the world. This problem is beyond the capability of the government to solve no matter how hard it tries.

As for the results of the poll, 80.7 percent of the students felt that the country's economic problems stem mainly from the fact that the government lacks stability and is insincere and that it is more concerned about its own profits and survival than it is about the interests of the people in general (choice A); only 19.2 percent of the students felt that the economic problems stem mainly from the effects of the world economic situation and that the government has made every effort to solve the problems (choice B).

As for the people, 47.2 percent chose choice "A" and 52.8 percent chose "B." This shows that the government's image in the eyes of most students and people is negative than positive.

In order to determine whether the views of the students and people on the government have changed and if so, how, during the period 3-14 February the research team of Dr. Sanchai Pakwichit again polled the students and people to obtain their views on the economic problems.

The same questions and response choices were used as in the previous poll. A total of 1,114 students from four institutions and people from every region were sampled.

As for the results, 86.1 percent of the students (see Table 1) chose choice "A"; 13.9 percent chose choice "B."

As for the people (see Table 2), 71.1 percent chose choice "A" and 28.9 percent chose "B."

Thus, it can be said that even though some time has passed, the views of the students and people on the government have not changed. That is, most of the students and people still feel that the government is insincere about solving the economic problems in the interest of the people as a whole and that it is more concerned about making profits for itself or thinks only about its own survival and about keeping power. In effect, this means that the government itself has played a large part in creating the problems.

Besides this, comparing the results of the poll conducted in September 1982 with those of the poll conducted in February 1984, it can be seen that the government's image in the eyes of the students and people has tended to decline. That is, the percentage of students who felt that the government had created the economic problems increased from 80.8 percent in 1982 to 86.1 percent in 1984. As for the people, the percentage who felt that the government had created the economic problems increased from 67.2 percent in 1982 to 71.1 percent in 1984.

This may be because most of the students and people have seen that no real and continuous action has been taken to solve the country's economic problems--particularly those problems that directly affect the well-being of the people such as the poverty of the people and the economic injustices--since the government has lacked stability and security. Thus, it has not been able to withstand the political pressures applied by evil influential groups. Besides this, the behavior of the political parties and MPs that have joined the government has not provided any indication that they are acting like "representatives of the people." Instead, they are involved in fighting among themselves for profits. This has further weakened the faith of the students and people in the government.



Table 1: Views of the Students on the Country's Economic Problems (percent)

Choice	Total N=509	Sex	
		Women N=252	Men N=257
A	86.1	87.7	84.4
B	13.9	12.3	15.6
Total	100	100	100

Table 2: Views of the People On the Country's Economic Problems

Choice	Total N=609	Sex	
		Women N=253	Men N=352
A	71.1	70.4	71.6
B	28.9	29.6	28.4
Total	100	100	100

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ESD: 4287/164

THAILAND

STUDENT FEDERATION FUNDS SEIZED BY GOVERNMENT

Bangkok MATICHON is Thai 29 May 84 p. 1

(Article) "Formerly Secretaries-General of Student Center Try to Withdraw Old Deposits and Discover That the Government Ordered the Money Transferred to the Treasury"

(Text) Two former Secretaries-General of the Student Center went to the Bangkok Branch of Bangkok Bank to withdraw 1 million baht that had been donated to the Student Center. The money was going to be used to build a multi-purpose auditorium at Bangkokmaeng. But the government had transferred the money to the Treasury and so they couldn't withdraw the money. They are to file suit against the Ministry of Finance.

At 11:00 hours on 28 May, former student leaders during the 14 October 1971 and 6 October 1976 periods led by Mr. Suthan Sathapattana, the secretary-general of the National Student Center for Thailand (NSCT) in 1976, and Mr. Kriangkarn Chakrabarti, the secretary-general of the NSCT in 1976, went to the Bangkok Branch of Bangkok Bank in order to check the deposit account of the NSCT.

After meeting with Mr. Suthan Sathapattana, the manager of the Bangkok Branch of Bangkok Bank, Mr. Suthan inquired what had happened to the NSCT's money. The people with the right to withdraw the money had not contacted the bank for a long time and so they began to fear that if they did the money there had been, it would disappear. And so they went to the bank in order to withdraw the money, which totaled 4,111,782.88 baht as of 1976, and use it to benefit society in accord with the wishes of the donors. Since it would have been difficult to build a monument, the former executive committee of the NSCT contacted Mr. Suthan Sathapattana, the rector of Bangkokmaeng University, in order to build a multi-purpose auditorium in memory of 14 October.

Mr. Suthan said that the bank claimed that the Ministry of Finance had ordered that the money be turned over to the government. Mr. Suthan asked to see the documents on this but the bank didn't have them. The bank told them to file an official report to report things. Thus, he said Mr. Kriangkarn will make an official report on 29 May.

Mr. Sudham said that now, most of the former student leaders are out of prison or have left the jungle, and they feel that the time has come to clear the accounts in order to prove their honesty concerning the use of NECT funds.

Furthermore, on 30 December 1983, this former executive committee of the NECT went to clear another deposit account at the head office of Bankpak Bank. It was found that this account still had 87,185.11 baht in it.

"If we can get the money that was deposited at the Banglamphu branch plus the accumulated interest, which should total 5-6 million baht, we will use it to build an auditorium for public benefit."

Mr. Sudham Vasawat, the manager of the Banglamphu branch of Bankpak Bank, said that he had become the manager of this branch in 1980. It is his understanding that, following an order from the cabinet, bank inspectors ordered the NECT's money turned over to the Ministry of Finance. Thus, even if [the students] make an inspection, they won't be able to withdraw the money since the account was closed in 1978. Their only recourse is to file suit against the Ministry of Finance.

(184)

(CNC) 12/87/164

## EDITORIAL URGES THAIS TO STUDY PHILIPPINE 'LESSON'

Bangkok PATINYA in Thai 4 Jun 84 p 1

[Editorial: "A 'Lesson' From the Philippines for Thailand"]

(Text) Today, the Philippines is in a crisis that may lead to a major change. This stems from the fact that President Ferdinand Marcos has long held dictatorial power. Besides seizing sovereignty power from the people, the expansion of the Marcos group into economic circles and their interference in economic circles has ruined the Philippine economic system. It has reached the point where they have had to divert the reserve funds and fool the Philippine people and foreigners. On the social front, there is much corruption and oppression of the government and business and failed. Even the leader of an opposition party was assassinated. Furthermore, the president's attitude seems to be that when he retires, he will not let power go to the people. Instead, he is trying to build a political heir to create a Marcos dynasty, even though he always says that the Philippines is a democracy. All of these things have greatly tarnished the image of the Philippines in the eyes of the world. The Philippines who has freedom cannot put up with this and as there have periodically been protests in various ways.

This popular opposition has forced President Marcos to use bogus democratic form to fool the people. He allowed an election to be held, but he used a number of appointed MPs as his base. And he allowed election fraud of all types to take place. It reached the point where the opposition made preparations to protest in order to ruin the election. Also, when it became apparent that the opposition was winning many votes, he extended the time for counting the votes, which gave the government a greater chance to "fix" the election. The government thought that by using such tricks it would reduce the resentment of the Philippine people, but instead this has increased their resentment.

The dictatorship in the Philippines may not have arisen because of the geographical characteristics of the country. The country is composed of many small islands. And this makes it difficult for the people

to join together. Also, the Marcos group is still receiving support from the United States since the United States wants to keep its military bases at this strategic point. This has given Marcos the advantage in preserving his position. But the people are not likely to put up with this and so the struggle against [Marcos] will continue. And the longer the struggle continues, the greater the losses to the country. Because both sides are using the existing resources to destroy each other. The "victory" will be the destruction of the country.

The events in the Philippines can serve as a lesson for our country since Thailand had a dictatorial form of administration and bogus democracy in certain periods. These forms of administration caused just as much damage to the economic and social systems here as they have done in the Philippines. At present, even though some people are trying to tell the people that we are a democracy, there are still hidden power groups in Thailand that interfere in everything. There are politicians who serve just the dictatorial powers and who are undisciplined. But fortunately, there are mass power groups that love freedom and democracy that are monitoring the activities of the dictators and disseminating this information. Whenever something illegal is done, these mass power groups join together to oppose this. For example, they opposed revising the constitution, which would have made it more dictatorial, and they have opposed the vice groups and achieved results. If the dictators recklessly take serious action to trample on democracy, they will be opposed by the people. And [we] don't believe that the dictators will have a chance to engage in a prolonged war that would harm the country as is happening in the Philippines. We were already taught that lesson on 14 October 1973.

11943

CSO: 4207/164

## PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

### IMPACT OF PARTY ACTIVITIES AT HCMC HARBOR DESCRIBED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Le Thanh Minh: "Party Work at Saigon Port; Developing the Authority of the CPV Committee and the Director"]

[Text] The Port of Saigon is one of the important communications centers in the country. It is involved with the activities of Ho Chi Minh City, with the populous and wealthy economic zone of eastern Nam Bo and the plains of the Cuu Long River. It is also an international circulation center. Under the direct leadership of the municipal CPV Committee, the port party organization guided the workers, cadres, and party members in every step to transform and construct a large port to effectively contribute in building up the nation on all fronts.

During the past years, the Port of Saigon has endeavoured to reorganize its production, to rapidly increase its cargo handling capacity and to exceed planned goals. The party organization has been strongly consolidated and has made clear advances.

First of all, the party organization grasped the pivotal leadership problem; the wholehearted emphasis on thoroughly understanding and applying the resolutions and directives of the CPV Central Committee on managing the economy in general and on managing ports in particular. Secondly, to make the correct and effective execution of the resolutions and directives the yardstick to measure the ability of the Party organization, and the ability and quality of the cadres and Party members. The CPV Committee organized political activities for the whole party organization and for each party chapter to insure that every member clearly understands their political duty and the plan that the government assigned them, regularly intent on improving the effectiveness of achieving the common economic goal of the port and the set goals for units and individuals.

Initially, the CPV Committee created a scientific working pattern, with the aim of developing the leadership role of the party organization, and at the same time upgrading the director's managing function. Starting with a thorough understanding of party policy and the higher levels' resolutions and directives and based on the practical situation and the overall

capability of the port, the party organization directed the participation of members and the masses in preparing and implementing the plan at each cell and unit, each unloading zone, and, at the same time, in contributing ideas to the drafting of the annual and quarterly plans that the director presents to the party committee echelons. The party's mission concentrates particularly on linking political and ideological education among the party organization and the masses to the economic activities of the units. The party also concentrated on the building and consolidation of the party's basic level organizations, the mass organizations and on guiding the emulation movement, mobilization of the masses to develop initiatives and improving labor discipline, and the productivity and quality of work. [Attention is also given] to training cadres. At the same time, through the party's organizational network and the mass organizations, the CPV Committee inspected the activities of the director and the management organization.

In the process of organizing mission performance, the director strictly complied with reporting procedures to the committee in accordance with prescribed usages. In order for the committee to understand the overall situation and to regularly supervise the work, the director and the secretary of the Committee listen to the cadres in charge of the units reporting on the situation each day. These presentations occurring during the first 30 minutes of the morning's workshift, are quick, concise and to the point. Every Saturday morning, in a conference format, the director invites the secretary of the committee and the secretaries of the participating trade unions to listen to the different blocks report on the week's situation, and decide on the work for the following week. Every Saturday afternoon, the committee's secretary meets with the secretaries of 24 chapters, to disseminate resolutions, to announce the activities of the party organization and listen to the chapters report on the situation. On this basis, the committee creates a program, an inspection plan, prepares proposals for the director on problems requiring action, and supports the masses' initiatives. The party's Saturday afternoon activities are aimed at building up the party in conjunction with the performance of specialized duties. The Port of Saigon Party Organization has designated Saturday as Party Day. Each day, the production and maintenance units regularly convene a short, informal meeting at 1300 hours, where the chapter's secretary, and the party cell leaders listen to the unit leaders, manual laborers, the managers and warehouses, and the cadres in charge of the unloading zones review the working conditions during the past 24 hours and discuss work plans for the next 24 hours.

Through this building and implementation of an organized work plan, the committee and the director are able to: 1) grasp the daily situation at the port; 2) closely follow and guide the productive labor emulation movement to complete the cargo handling plan for ships, batches of goods, and types of goods, and 3) lead the battle against the enemy's sabotage tricks and against any negative act at the port. On this basis, the party organization and the chapters supervise and the chapters supervise and direct the party members.



Working in this manner and maintaining tight control over the improved regular monthly chapter activities, the CPV Committee and the chapter committees can manage the party members and workers. In accordance with the demands of production, they can logically deploy party members and cadres to necessary positions. They can identify and promptly reward good workers, and actively train party members and the masses. They can also admit new members and judge and discipline those who demonstrate shortcomings.

In the past 2 years, the party has disciplined 49 members (17.9 percent of the total number of members). Among these, 21 individuals were expelled and had their names struck from the register (among them a deputy director who was a new member). This illustrates the determined, severe and just spirit of the party in the matter of maintaining discipline. Also during this period, the party organization admitted 51 new members; the majority were workers directly involved in production (longshoremen, technicians...). A number of them were workers who have worked in the port since before the liberation. Today they are outstanding class-conscious workers who have been educated and have met all the criteria [necessary] for joining the party. The party organization decided to reduce the number of members and cadres in administrative and professional positions and reassign them to production units. The party organization already has 49.8 percent of its members in direct production jobs (the resolution of the City Party Organization Congress proposes we strive to increase the percentage of party members in production units to 35 percent).

With an increased core of leaders, the units at the port in the loading and unloading zones and the warehouses all changed for the better. The Nha Rong unloading zone has successfully managed their work schedule and made rational assignments of workers to each production shift. Khanh Hoi is a crucial unloading zone with 1700 workers. Here, the task of building the party has progressed fairly well. Starting with only one chapter, today this area has established a party organization with 4 chapters and 48 members (7 members were admitted in the first 6 months of 1983). By April 1984 the party organization had increased the number of members by 30 percent. Today, every unloading unit has a few party members. Previously, many unloading units had shortcomings. The CPV Committee proposed to the director that a number of workers who were party members with organizing abilities and a sense of responsibility be appointed unit chiefs. After a time, these units changed for the better. Unloading Unit 2, led by party member Nguyen Hoan Thanh, unloaded 9000 tons of paper in less than 8 days, for which it was rewarded. Comrade Truong Nghia Trung, who has worked at the port for decades, joined the party at the end of 1981. He was appointed head of Unloading Unit 6, which was established on the base of an unloading collective with almost 200 workers, almost all of whom are women. Comrade [Trung], 50, a worker under the previous regime for many years, has been reeducated by the party and successfully displays the exemplary pioneer role to the masses by successfully accomplishing all the duties entrusted him. Seventeen socialist labor teams and 20 emulation workers have been designated at the Khanh Hoi region.

In recent years, the battle against the wicked sabotage plots and tricks of the enemy was very bitter. The party organization of the Port of Saigon has taken its security and order mission very seriously in fighting negative elements. The party organization began the movement to defend the security of the fatherland and built a strong unsullied security force to defend the property of our socialist society. Using many active measures of ideology and organization, the party educated the workers thereby raising the level of consciousness of revolutionary vigilance. The party organized close coordination between the port security and the wards and subwards security. Furthermore, it maintained the safety of the port and of foreign ships. The port set up harbor statutes determining the principles of contact with foreigners. Operating through the masses of workers, the battle against the theft of society's property in the port has been victorious, recovering much merchandise for the government and the people. Experience proves that any unit that possesses a good organization and a well selected core of leading cadres succeeds in maintaining order and security and in combatting negative incidents. In Unloading Unit 7, party member Le Khac Quy is one of the shining examples among the port workers. The head and deputy head of this unit stole some merchandise and were disciplined. Le Khac Quy was moved in from another unit and made deputy head and then head of the unit. Believing in and depending on his workers, Le Khac Quy inspired his comrades to ferret out many instances of merchandise thefts. The head of the Unit 7 unloading team, Nguyen Van Hiep, courageously chased three thieves who had stolen merchandise off a ship and recovered the goods. The unit has many achievements in combatting crime and in increasing their unloading capacity. When he became a full party member, Le Khac Quy was immediately elected to the CPV Chapter Committee. In the warehouse transfer section, Le Van Bo, a warehouse keeper, strove to become a party member and was put in full charge of the 18 warehouses in the Khanh Hoi region. Hard-working and energetic, he is present at his work place day and night. Along with the collective of cadres and party members who work in the warehouses, he leads hundreds of laborers and management workers. He also protects the merchandise well. He created on his own initiative patrolling teams that share the responsibility for each shift and prevent many criminals from breaking into the warehouses.

The port instituted penalty contract procedures. Salaries are based on labor productivity and a graduated scale of awards was established. Over 80 percent of the jobs have been assigned norms and operate under product and project contracts and contracts for unloading and cleaning ships. The CPV Committee and the director never cease to pay attention to leading [the campaign] to economize and to organizing the material and spiritual life of the workers. For instance, they : organize the distribution of food and handicraft products, develop animal husbandry, successfully organize community kitchens and dinners, improve the quality of the mid-shift meal, create mutually beneficial cultural programs, and organize excursions, vacations, health care, education, public health, hygiene programs, etc. These actions help increase the sense of responsibility, improve productivity and the workers' legitimate source of income and preventing negative acts. With their lives more settled, the workers get more attached to the port and gradually move toward the new labor standard, that is, the standard of a worker with a sense of collective ownership.

The party organization of the Port of Saigon must continue to build the organization, improve the CPV chapters, and strongly promote the party among the laborers and technical cadres. Other tasks of the party organization include strengthening political and ideological training for the cadres and party members so that they may have a deep understanding of the socialist revolutionary doctrine and grasp the policies and resolutions of the party and the government. It must also upgrade organizational standards, capabilities in managing the economy, and improve the proficiency, the professionalism, and the quality of communist morality in the party members and cadres. All these are tasks that must advance unceasingly in the party organization.

12654

4209/303

## ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE AND FINANCE

### EDITORIAL CALLS FOR IMPROVED MATERIAL SUPPLY TO PRODUCTION SECTOR

Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese 10 May 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Adequacy, Homogeneity and Timeliness"]

[Text] An extremely important requirement in supplying materials is to ensure adequacy, homogeneity and timeliness. At present, many sectors and production installations are being faced with a serious shortage of materials. Many units have drawn up a production plan but have not at all been supplied with materials or have only received an insufficient supply. This situation has impeded production.

Objectively speaking, we cannot yet take the initiative with regard to the sources of materials and have thus been compelled to import the majority of essential, precious and rare materials from foreign countries. It is necessary, however, to realize that we are still committing many shortcomings and irrationalities in drawing up plans and delivering supplies and even in using materials. We have seen many cases of belatedly planning and failure to specify materials according to their nomenclature and categories. Some supply agencies have shown an overbearing attitude and have even taken advantage of shortage to create difficulties to receive bribes... The prevalent state of mind among users of materials is a desire to stock up with as much materials as they can even though these goods are not yet needed, and to do so whenever possible. This is precisely the reason for the concomitant shortage and stagnation of materials!

Recently, some material supply units have for the first time begun to reorganize management in its various stages and to apply the motto: "Adequate, homogenous and timely supply of materials to the production sector." Typical of this move are the Hipohong Technical Supply Corporation, the Thanh Hoa Material Supply Corporation, the Ha Bac Agricultural Supply Station and so forth. An outstanding feature of these units is the fact that they have taken all the necessary measures to exploit all sources of material supply and also the locally existing ones; that they have strengthened and improved management from the statistical and accounting tasks to the maintenance of warehouses and storage fields; that they have fought against losses and waste and have avoided confusion and mistakes; that they have clearly realized the monthly and quarterly supply needs

of customers; that they have come to know the exact quantities of goods in stock; that they have delivered materials to the rightful recipients and that they have in many instances delivered materials directly to production installations, thus supplying the production sector in due time while reducing the cost of cargo handling and storage in warehouses and fields, thereby achieving high economic effectiveness in delivering supplies.

In this respect, the role of trade union organizations is also noteworthy. They have coordinated with the specialized sector and carried out activities under varied forms such as education, motivation to emulation and prompt rewards and penalties in order to make everyone understand his responsibilities for production and consequently try to carry out the assigned task satisfactorily. By launching short-term emulation stages, the trade union in the above-mentioned units has mobilized the combined strength of all cadres and manual and office workers in these units, jointly used the work force and transport means of the customer units to quickly remove materials when they are supplied incessantly, and created an abundant source of materials for gradual supply to the production sector. By setting up workers' control teams and urging the broad masses to exercise supervision, the trade union in many localities has become a hard-core force to oppose negative manifestations in the material supply process.

Clearly aware of the importance of material supplies and of the supply personnel's responsibilities for production, cadres and workers in the material supply sector are launching an emulation movement to deliver adequate, homogenous and timely supplies to the production sector. Trade union organizations at all levels in the material supply sector must aim all their activities at the above-mentioned targets.

9332

CSO: 4209/329



## AGRICULTURE

### NHAN DAN REPORTS ON NGHIA BINH WINTER-SPRING RICE CROP

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Apr 84 p 1

[Article: "The Winter-Spring Rice Crop Increased by 4 Tons Per Hectare Compared to Last Year's Crop"]

[Text] For this year's winter-spring crop, Nghia Binh sowed and transplanted over 4000 hectares more than last year's winter-spring crop. Harvest control of the first and middle plantings showed the highest yield so far, on balance a minimum estimated yield of 26 tons per hectare for the whole province. Therefore, compared to the best winter-spring crop (1981-1982) the yield increased by 4 tons and, compared to previous crops, by 8 tons per hectare. Many districts reached their highest yield ever: Tuy Phuoc reaped 40 tons, An Nhan 39 tons, and the city of Quang Ngai 35 tons. Twenty collectives had an average yield of 40 tons per hectare among them Phuoc Thang 1 reaped 55 tons per hectare and Nhon Khang 53 tons per hectare. Compared to the best winter-spring crops [we have had], this year's winter-spring crop did not have good weather. The rainfall only equaled 70 percent of that of the fair weather years, the deep cold persisted until the end of February and the beginning of March influenced the crop yield. But the province actively made complete and uniform preparations with different equipment to meet the demands of production, especially the quantity and composition of fertilizers (on average using 7 tons of fertilizers per hectare, and insecticides. The districts and collectives successfully followed the new rice allocation plan that the province stipulated planting during 12 to 15 days according to the best schedules. The density of the transplanting was guaranteed to be 80-100 clusters per square meter; weeding, puddling, fertilizing, irrigating, caring for the rice were done at the right times. A number of collectives in the two districts of Tu Nghia and Son Tinh did not follow the technical rules closely. They handled the rice crop at their own convenience and therefore the crop developed diseases in the middle of the season causing the yield to decrease. The collectives that successfully achieved the terms of their product contracts and unceasingly improved their management and leadership capabilities, especially in the areas of labor division and realization of technical regulations, all achieved equal yields in their fields and in their rice crops.



The cadres and peasants of Nghia Binh realized that they should not be subjective and complacent about their performance in this winter-spring crop because the food problem, in the different localities as well as in the entire nation, has not been solved definitively and still remains as a battle front of struggle and hardship necessitating bigger and more lasting efforts.

12654  
4209/303

## AGRICULTURE

### DROUGHT, INSECT CONTROL IN NORTH, RICE CULTIVATION IN SOUTH

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 May 84 p 1

[Text] According to the Statistics General Department, as of 15 May, 600,560 hectares of winter-spring rice have been harvested across the country, showing an increase of 3.9 percent over the same period last year. The northern provinces, mainly Binh Tri Thien, have harvested 13,992 hectares equivalent to 77.7 percent of the norm attained during the same period last year.

Due to scanty rains, the drought-stricken rice area has extended to approximately 300,000 more hectares concentrated mostly on the provinces of Hai Hung, Ha Bac, Thai Binh, Ha Nam Ninh, Ha Son Binh, Thanh Hoa and Vinh Phu and the city of Hanoi. Because it occurs just when riceplants are forming boots and ears, drought may badly affect the degree of fullness of grains. The rice area afflicted with harmful insects and diseases has also doubled that in the same period last year. All localities are using both electric and oil pumps in conjunction with manual means to fight drought to provide enough water for riceplants to bloom and to fill up grains; at the same time, they are mobilizing the vegetation protection force together with cooperative members to take various measures to control harmful insects and diseases.

Having nearly finished harvesting the winter-spring rice crop, the southern provinces are stepping up the direct sowing of summer-fall rice seeds. As of 15 May, the whole country has sown and transplanted the summer-fall and 10th-month rice crops on 275,008 hectares equivalent to 160.5 percent of the area cultivated in the same period last year. All localities are hastening the sowing and transplanting task on the 10th-month floating rice area prior to the onset of heavy rains.

Soil preparations for sowing and growing the summer-fall vegetables and subsidiary food crops have proceeded slowly because of a hot sunshine and a scarcity of rain. On the area destined for industrial crops in particular, sowing and planting have been done fairly well with an increase of 7.8 percent over the same period last year.

9332

CSO: 4209/329

## AGRICULTURE

### BRIEFS

WINTER-SPRING RICE CROP-- The southern provinces are harvesting the winter-spring rice crop, yielding 54 percent of the planted area. In the provinces in the Cuu Long River plains, the yield reached 64.5 percent. The provinces of Kien Giang, Cuu Long and Tien Giang had a quick harvest. In the area already harvested, the rice yield of the different localities all increased in comparison with the original schedule. An Giang Province reaped 52 tons per hectare. Dong Thap and Tien Giang provinces harvested 47 tons. Similarly, Hau Giang and Kien Giang provinces harvested 40 tons per hectare. The localities are mobilizing labor and means in order to harvest the winter-spring crop quickly, neatly, and in time to plant the summer-fall crop. A number of places, such as Tien Giang, have begun to sow the summer-fall crop early. [Text] [Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 April 84 p 1] 12654

4209/303

## HEAVY INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION

### BRIEFS

COAL SCREENING PLANT--On 19 May, the Ministry of Building began the construction of a coal screening plant in Uong Bi. With the aid provided by the USSR for its construction, the plant will have a design output of 1.8 million tons of coal a year and will be a modern coal screening plant with the largest output in the Van Danh-Mao Khe coal mining area. The construction project includes 57 components and requires a capital investment of more than 400 million dong. [VNA] [Text] [Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 may 84 p 1] 9332

CSO: 4209/329

## HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

### LEVEL-1 GENERAL EDUCATION PROGRAM FORMULATED FOR HIGHLANDS

Hanoi NGHIEN CUU GIAO DUC in Vietnamese No 143, Apr 84 pp 13-14

[Article by Le Ba Vinh: "120-Week Level-1 Education Program for the Highlands"]

[Text] A review of the education sector's activities in the past 5 years has led to the conclusion that based on the adherence to the general substance of the nationwide education system, education management in each region must have particular targets, priorities and measures. In this spirit, the Fifth Conference on Ethnic Minority Education which was held in Thai Nguyen in April 1983 took into consideration the economic, political and social characteristics of the highland areas and decided that a general education formula suitable for the highland areas should be the opening of level-1 general schools of a popular nature in all villages.

To meet the need to train cadres, the state will concentrate on bringing up and teaching, at highland general schools with boarding facilities, a number of pupils coming from highland tribes with the prospect of becoming cadres. At these schools, pupils will study the common curriculum and this type of schools will become the principal school system during the education reform.

Because of very limited study conditions, most children and teenagers living in montagnard villages will attend level-1 schools in their own localities. Following is an outline of the curriculum for level-1 general schools in the highland areas:

1. Students will be ethnic children and teenagers from remote and isolated highland areas who belong to the 7-15 age group and who know very little or nothing about the popular language. In these areas, production is carried out mainly on slash-burn upland fields, income is low, culture develops slowly and schooling has not yet become a strong tradition.

2. The objective is to endow pupils with the level-1 education standard and a simple and realistic knowledge essential to Vietnamese citizens coming from ethnic minorities and living in the border areas. On completion

of the curriculum, pupils will either go home to perform productive labor<sup>1</sup> or may use the acquired knowledge to continue study at schools of various kinds designed for laboring villagers.

3. The general task is to instill into pupils a basic knowledge of the popular language (Vietnamese) for use as an instrument of study at school and a tool for social relations concerning ordinary topics in daily life, to give pupils simple arithmetic abilities essential to life in their families and highland villages and to equip them with some common knowledge of nature and society, taking into account the realities of production, task performance and combat activities in the highland areas. The inculcation of such a knowledge coupled with other types of activity (in teenagers' units, about arts and letters and during field trips) will help form a new man's personality for pupils from the points of view of ability to take action and of ethics, politics, ideology and civilized way of life.

4. Requirements: On completion of the 120-week curriculum, pupils must achieve the following results:

a. Ability to read and write the popular language to such an extent that they will not revert to illiteracy.<sup>2</sup>

b. Ability to make the four arithmetic calculations--addition, subtraction, multiplication and division--in four-figure numbers; some acquaintance with numbers of the million class and ability to solve simple mathematical problems.

c. A minimum basic knowledge mainly about ordinary topics closely related to nature and society.

The above-mentioned requirements will provide pupils with a level of knowledge enabling them to use the popular language to get in touch with compatriots of other fraternal nationalities and to read and understand simply written cultural, political and technical documents. The first step for pupils is to become aware of the fact that they are citizens of the SRV which comprises 54 fraternal nationalities, to understand clearly the traditional unity of all nationalities and to cultivate a

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. Children usually study till the age of 13-14 and then stop studying. During that period, they can only complete level-1 education and are thus considered to have graduated from level-1 schools.

2. Actually, most highlander pupils revert to illiteracy after leaving school because their abilities have not been improved through practice and because the quality of their knowledge is not yet stable.

sense of responsibility for the fatherland's construction and defense. With regard to natural and social events in the highlands, pupils must have a progressive thinking pattern which precludes superstitions and backward customs and habits and which promotes the organization of life for themselves, their families and their villages according to a new style (characterized by hygiene and order). In practice, the curriculum is aimed at giving pupils some knowledge necessary to production and task performance by taking into account the highlands' specific needs.

5. Curriculum structure: Level-1 general primary schools in the highlands will teach three basic subjects: Vietnamese (popular language), arithmetics and general science (natural and social sciences). In addition, there will be collective activities based on these themes: Technical work and practice, arts and letters, sports and field trips.

6. The curriculum is formulated on the basis of the following principles:

a. It is necessary to select fundamental, concise and realistic subjects according to the general spirit of the education reform program and the (100-week) nationwide program of level-2 education propagation.

b. There must be a suitable system to correlate various subjects (Vietnamese, arithmetics, general science and collective activities).

c. A rational ratio must exist between theory and practice and importance must be attached to practice and lesson review.

d. Improving the knowledge of the popular language must be the central task of the curriculum. The Vietnamese language must be considered from two points of view--as a principal subject of study and simultaneously as a teaching and learning tool. An appropriate ratio must be given to this subject, especially in Grades 1, 2 and 3. With their substances and teaching methods, other subjects must contribute to enriching the pupils' basic knowledge of the Vietnamese language which is thus the backbone of the curriculum as well as a link to correlate all other subjects in the curriculum. While adhering to the overall spirit of the Vietnamese education system, the curriculum must reflect the actual situation in the highland areas and must conform to the psychology and physiology of the tribal pupils.

The curriculum must be devised in such a way that pupils will get compact and stable results on completion of each academic year.

7. Curriculum apportionment: The curriculum covers 120 weeks and is divided into 5 school years for Grades 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Each school year comprises 32 weeks including 24 ones for real study and the remaining 8 ones for the preparation for and organization of the school year and for collective activities. Each school year is divided into two semesters with an interval of 10 days' vacation. Each week has 6 study sessions (from Monday through Saturday). Each day (lecture session) comprises



three teaching periods (totaling 120 minutes) excluding breaks and extracurricular activities. The specific structural organization of the academic year is achieved in strict accordance with the local situation and out of respect for the above-mentioned principles.

Investigations have led to the uniform conclusion that children in the highlands usually go to school up to the age of 13 or 14 and that afterward they become principal laborers and prepare for marriage. Therefore, most children attending school with this curriculum will fall approximately within the 7-13 age group but the schooling age may be extended to 15 to create favorable conditions for certain children who begin schooling belatedly.

Investigations and statistics about the real days and hours of study performed according to the natural activity pattern at many village schools in the H'mong nationality region have revealed that there are only 100 real days of study in a school year. It is estimated that by carrying out active motivation in and out of schools, it will be possible to increase the number of real days of study to 24 weeks. For this reason, though the curriculum allocates only 24 weeks of real study, and the school year still comprises 32 weeks so that the 8 extra weeks may be used to organize and prepare for the academic year, to organize field trip activities requiring much time and also to wait for the late arrival of a number of pupils. Though uniform dates are fixed for the beginning and close of the academic year, setting the school semesters in particular months of the academic year will depend on the specific situation in each locality.

The above-mentioned teaching-learning plan mentions 216 teaching periods for general science. These teaching periods will be dedicated to subjects such as history, geography, technique, hygiene, ethics and civics which will be taught relatively systematically in Grades 4 and 5 after pupils have completed Grade 3 with a sufficient linguistic knowledge enabling them to assimilate scientific matters. Moreover, general science will be taught from Grade 1 through Grade 5 under various forms: training and practice (hygiene, new lifestyle, habits consistent with ethics and civilized behavior, technique and so forth) through the use of Vietnamese language (historic stories, hero legends, historic feats of arms, geographic topics and so on). The plan also reserves 216 teaching periods for collective activities. Beside these teaching periods, schools may, according to their peculiar conditions, organize extracurricular activity sessions during the above-mentioned 8 extra weeks.

The foregoing is merely an outline of the (120-week) program of level-2 education propagation in the highland areas. In the future when our country as a whole and the highland areas in particular have developed strongly and when great progress has been made in the economic, cultural and social fields, the level of propagation will be raised. For the time being, this is a positive step forward on the long road to equality in education.

9332

CSO: 4209/329

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